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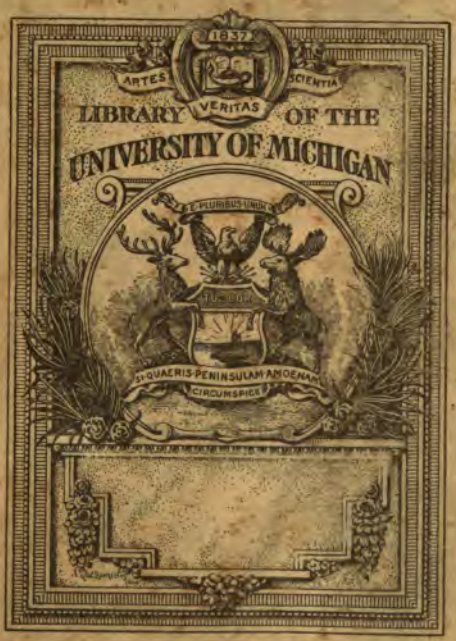
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Epochs of Ancient History

TROY

Its Legend, History and Literature

S. G. W. BENJAMIN.

EPOCHS OF ANCIENT HISTORY.

TROY

ITS LEGEND, HISTORY AND LITERATURE

WITH A SKETCH

OF THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE TROAD IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT INVESTIGATION.

BY

S. G. W. BENJAMIN, M. A.,

Author of "The Turk and the Greek," &c.

WITH MAP.

Was this the face that launched a thousand ships
And burnt the topless towers of Ilium!
Sweet Helen.

MARLOWE.

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
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PREFACE.

In the year 1870, the author of this volume published a little work entitled, "The Choice of Paris, a Romance of the Troad." Aside from his personal interest in its preparation which should be the leading *raison d'etre* of literary labor, he had a double purpose in writing that book,—to weave the more romantic features of the siege of Troy into a connected narrative, and thus to attract the general reader to a renewed interest in the great legend of the ages.

The time seems to have come, however, for a fuller version of the Trojan legend, without either addition or important omission, as it was familiarly known to the ancients, who had access to many epics and traditions of which we have no knowledge except by extracts or allusions in the scholiasts, historians, and later Poets of Alexandria and Rome. In no one place can an entire account of the legend now be found. It is scattered in fragments throughout the epic, dramatic, philosophic, and critical writings of antiquity still extant, and is given with more or less fullness by modern historians; but is nowhere, so far as the writer is aware, presented in its complete form.

This volume is intended to meet this hiatus and to gather in a connected narrative the various scattered members of a great story. Where several variations occur in the account of a particular event, a number are cited from which the reader can make his selection. The events described in the Iliad are given in a degree proportioned to the rest of the legend. As those events only cover the space of a few days they form but a brief although important portion of the legend, while to repeat them at length here would be to reproduce the whole of the Iliad, which is already accessible to all through numerous excellent translations.

The second part of this volume includes a synopsis of the stupendous controversy which has been waged for ages regarding Troy and the origin of the Homeric Poems. To this is added a sketch of the investigations of Dr. Schliemann and other archæologists on the plains of Troy.

The Greek names of the gods have been given instead of the more familiar Latin terms, because the legend is almost wholly Greek and the character of some of the gods, Aphrodité for example, differs somewhat in the Greek and Latin mythology; Odysseus has also been substituted for Ulysses for similar reasons.

The long accepted Latin-English spelling of other Greek proper names has been preserved.

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PART I.

THE LEGEND.

TROY.

CHAPTER I.

THE YOUTH OF PARIS.

TROAS is a district situated in the north-western corner of Asia Minor. It forms a part of the region formerly called Mysia, and has somewhat the form of an irregular triangle. The northern and western sides are washed by the Egean, and meet at the Sigeian Point. On the land side they are joined by the noble mountain range of Mount Ida, whose south-western spur is called Gargarus. The alluvial plain between the sea and the mountains is traversed by a number of streams, of which the Scamander or Xanthus and the Simois are the most important.

Topography of Troy.

It is recorded in legendary history that this plain was the scene of events which have arrested the world's attention for three thousand years. At the time when the legend begins, which was but a few generations after Zeus had swept the world with a deluge, this plain was inhabited by an obscure tribe of Thracian origin. The first leader of this people of whom there is any mention was Teukros. He was a man of such forceful character that he gave his name to the tribe that has since that time been called

How the legend begins.

after him. The god of the Scamander met the goddess Cybele on Mount Ida, and the hero was the result of this divine intercourse. Cybele was also called Idæa because she often haunted the shaggy woods of that range.

The Dardanian dynasty.

It was in those days that Dardanus, probably a Pelasgian chieftain, came to the land of the Teukrii, from the neighboring isle of Samothrace.* He was the son of Zeus and Electra, a man of distinguished qualities who left Samothrace because of the affliction he endured after Zeus had stricken his brother Iasion by lightning. Dardanus ingratiated himself into the favor of Teukros, and received from him his daughter Batieia in marriage, together with a tract upon which he founded a city called Dardania, high up on the crags of Mount Ida. To him were born two sons, Ilus and Erichthonius. The latter accumulated great wealth and succeeded to the throne. In his pastures were three thousand mares; their colts, sired by Boreas, were supernaturally swift.

Dardanus settles in the Troad.

By Astyoche, daughter of the Simois, came to Erichthonius a son named Tros, who inherited the sceptre. In him were combined the rival families of the Scamander and the Simois. Tros in turn had three sons by Callirhoë. The noble house of Æneas sprang from Assaracus, while the great king Priam was descended from Ilus, the eldest son. Ganymede, the youngest, was made cup-bearer to Zeus. Tros gave his name to the territory over which he reigned, and Ilus founded the famous and holy city of Ilion, more properly and generally known by the name of Troy.

The Mysian or Dardanian line seems up to this time to have been in some degree dependent for its authority

* Strabo, Apollodorus, etc.

on the neighboring kingdom of Phrygia. For it is recorded that Ilus received a dappled heifer from the king of Phrygia, as a prize won at public games; * it was accompanied by permission to found a city wherever the heifer should lie down for rest. The animal, after some wandering, lay down on a hill called Até. This, therefore, was accepted as the site of Troy, and the eminence, thenceforth called the Pergamus, became the citadel.

Founding of Troy.

Laomedon succeeded Ilos, and married Strymo, the daughter of the Scamander, by whom he had several sons and daughters. Many of them achieved celebrity on account of some striking quality or adventure. The growing importance of Troy, which naturally rendered it more liable to wars with its neighbors, also made it expedient to surround the city with walls. At this juncture it happened most fortunately for Laomedon that the deities, Apollo and Poseidon, were condemned by Zeus to submit to the commands of Laomedon during the space of one year. A bargain was struck between the high contracting parties which promised to be mutally beneficial, but for the fact that Laomedon was of a crafty and overreaching disposition.

Building of the walls of Troy.

After the wall had been constructed by the two gods, Laomedon not only declined to pay the stipulated sum, but also had the incredible effrontery to threaten to cut off their ears. He found that it will never do to trifle with the gods. Apollo sated his vengeance by sending a pestilence on the Troad which destroyed many people. Poseidon in turn wreaked his wrath by deputing a sea-monster to devour the dwellers along the coast.

These calamities brought the faithless king to terms,

* Apollodorus.

and he despatched messengers to consult the oracle. The oracle replied that no relief could be expected until Lameodon exposed his daughter Hesione to the sea monster. Accordingly she was bound to a rock with the agreeable prospect of being devoured with all her youth and beauty by the rising of the next tide. At this critical juncture Hercules, returning from the Euxine with the cestus of the queen of the Amazons, discovered the royal maiden chained to the rock. His sympathy was at once aroused, but true Greek as he was, and assured of his ability to rescue her from the jaws of the approaching monster, he first endeavored to turn the affair to his advantage. He offered to deliver Hesione, if Laomedon would give him the supernatural mares which Zeus had sent from Olympus to Troas in exchange for Ganymede, his son, who had been translated to heaven to be cup-bearer to the gods.

Legend of Hesione, her rescue by Hercules.

Nothing is more easy than to promise, and thus Laomedon readily gave his royal word, and the hero soon released Hesione from a position which was both embarrassing and perilous. Having once before been easily helped out of the penalty of his duplicity, Laomedon ventured to break this second engagement, and Hercules was forced to leave Troy without the mares. As nothing further was heard from the hero for some years, Laomedon probably concluded that he was going to reap only profit for his crimes.

But after completing his famous labors, Hercules collected a fleet of eighteen, (or, according to Homer, six) fifty oared galleys, together with an army, and returned to the plains of Troy. He captured the city by the aid of his friend Telamon, the Salaminian hero, and slew Laomedon and his sons with arrows. Podarces alone was per-

mitted to live, for he had counselled his father to carry out the terms of the contract.

Hercules slays Laomedon.

Hercules then gave Hesione to his ally Telamon, but granted her the life of one of the captives. Naturally she selected her sole surviving brother Podarces. But when she desired them to release him, she was told, according to the code of the time, that he must first be sold as a slave, and might then be ransomed. She redeemed Podarces by stripping the gold-embroidered veil from her head and giving it as purchase money. From this circumstance he was called Priamos, or the bought one.

Priam rebuilds Troy.

Priam had counselled his father Laomedon, to fulfil his stipulations with Hercules. For this reason Hercules now restored Priam to the Trojan throne, and permitted him to rebuild and beautify the city. During the reign of Laomedon, Priam had been forced to marry Arisba. He now divorced her, and either for love or policy exchanged her for Hecuba, daughter of Dymas the Phrygian. Their union was a happy one all things considered, and abundantly fruitful. Hecuba bore her husband nineteen children. As they grew up and married, separate palaces were built for them adjoining that of the king, on the Pergamus or citadel. The reign of Priam seems to have been for many years one of prosperity. Evidently a man of genial qualities, foresight and prudence, he had the wisdom to profit by the errors or crimes of the founders of his line. Increasing and consolidating his territories, he also gained powerful allies, partly by marriage, and won far-reaching glory and respect for Troy.

Hecuba must have been a woman of great natural talents, for many of her children achieved celebrity, not

solely on account of their social position but also for strongly marked individual traits. We are led to infer that Cassandra, Hector, Troilus, Paris, Helenus and Deiphobus would have gained celebrity even if the Fates had not offered them such a melancholy opportunity of achieving immortality.

Several children had been born to the royal pair, and nothing occurred to mar their domestic peace until Hecuba became pregnant of Paris. At that time she dreamed that she brought forth a burning torch, that proved the destruction of Troy. So remarkable a portent naturally alarmed the parents. Priam had by his former wife a son named Æsacus who had assumed the priestly office. He was also a soothsayer, having been instructed in the art of prophecy by his grandmother Merope. This gift Æsacus also imparted to his half brother and sister Helenus and Cassandra. Grief for the loss of his wife Asterope prematurely shortened the life of this worthy soothsayer.

Birth of Paris.

To him Priam applied for an interpretation of Hecuba's dream. Æsacus foretold that it meant the destruction of Troy by means of the offspring yet unborn, and advised the exposure of the poor infant. When the unlucky babe arrived, he was therefore given at once to Archelaus, a shepherd of Mt. Ida, who was commanded to expose him on a crag where he would be speedily devoured by the eagles or the wolves. After five days the shepherd returned to the spot where he had left the infant. Finding him not only alive and unharmed, but also nursed by a she bear, Archelaus was so moved that he took the infant to his hut and named him Paris.

The child, ignorant of his royal birth, grew up to manhood showing traits of his lofty origin. Among the herdsmen of Mt. Ida he established a reputation by his

courage in the chase and his success in athletic sports. The spirit he displayed in repelling the robbers who attacked the folds was such that he was named Alexandros, or protector of men.

Œnone the Idæan nymph.

But the pastoral life of the royal youth was most distinguished on account of his connection with the lovely wood nymph Œnone.* There is an ideal feminine virtue and loveliness in the character and career of this exquisite being of the Idean woods. Paris, after the simple manner of the time and place, accepted Œnone as his wife, and they dwelt together with the utmost happiness, tending the flocks which Archelaus, his foster father had bequeathed to him. In all the idyllic poetry of antiquity, there is no more beautiful and instructive legend than that of Paris and Œnone.

Zeus plans to decrease the world's population.

But the gods are impatient of a happiness or prosperity that threatens to rival theirs. Nor is man permitted to pass through life without being subjected to temptations and seductions that draw him from virtue to ruin, and thus a new element now entered into the life of Paris, in a manner the most unexpected. The gods employ mortals to execute their designs or to be the instruments for the fulfilment of destiny. Paris was now the being selected to be the instrument for carrying out the purposes of Zeus. The curious circumstance is that the beings appointed thus to serve the gods are made responsible for being unwittingly the agents in the carrying out of ends entirely foreign to their thoughts. Zeus, seeing that the world was overstocked with people consulted Themis on the subject. She advised him that the best

* Apollodorus.

way to thin out the population was to bring about a war between Greece and Troy.* And this is how it came to pass.

Peleus, King of Thessaly, after a singular variety of adventures and misfortunes, was subjected to the unholy solicitations of Hippolyté, wife of Acastus. After he had successfully resisted her blandishments, the gods decided to reward such virtue by granting him a goddess in marriage. Thetis was chosen to fill this office, and in her honor the Olympian deities assembled to the nuptials on Mount Pelion.

Marriage of Peleus and Thetis.

This was the occasion selected by Zeus for initiating his purposes regarding the human race. The goddess Discord, the daughter of Night and sister of Nemesis, was commanded to throw among the assembled gods a golden apple bearing the inscription "To the most beautiful." † The result is easily foreseen. The most furious jealousy at once arose among the goddesses. It was conceded that three, Heré, Athené, and Aphrodité, were justly entitled by their rank and charms to be considered rivals possessing especial right to claim the apple of gold. Therefore they repaired to the throne of Zeus, but the crafty god declined to decide a question fraught with such consequences not only to the universe but also to his own peace. If he awarded the prize to Heré, his spouse, he would, of course, be accused of partiality and precipitate a conflict in Olympus itself, while if he decided it against her he would disturb his own domestic harmony. But Zeus recommended the fair rivals to refer the decision of the question to Paris, the young shepherd of Mount Ida.

The Apple of Discord.

* Æneid. † Cyprian verses.

Whatever his judgment, Zeus promised that it should be accepted as final.

Thither the three goddesses proceeded, guided by Mercury, the herald of Olympus. It was scarcely just to lay such a burden of responsibility on the shoulders of a young, inexperienced shepherd. The more especially does it seem thus because the rival deities were not satisfied to leave the decision to his unbiassed judgment, but each endeavored to win the prize by seductive promises of reward characteristic of the prerogatives of the respective claimants. But Paris was, perhaps, not more harshly dealt with than all mortals who are forced to choose and are held responsible for their choice. Heré offered him the promise of regal power; Minerva sought the preference by holding out to him wisdom and martial success. But Aphrodité promised him the world's fairest woman. The young man's fancy kindled at the suggestion. For the moment he forgot Œnone. He gave the apple of Discord to the goddess of Love. In an instant his own destiny and that of the world was decided. Whatever the subsequent conduct of Paris, it cannot be questioned that it was exceedingly unjust for the higher powers to take advantage of his weakness, and subject him to a trial for which he was so unequal.

The goddesses on Mount Ida.

For a time after this event matters went on with Paris as before. He tended his flocks and herds and dwelt with Œnone. But the steps of Fate were stealthily and inevitably approaching. Priam, enjoying unbroken prosperity, proclaimed a public contest, in which his sons and other youth of noble birth were to meet in athletic games. The prize for the winner was to be the finest bull of Mount Ida. The persons who were sent in quest of such a bull found

Return of Paris to Troy.

one at last in the herds of Paris. With great reluctance he permitted them to carry off the bull and only under condition that he should be allowed to strive for the prize.

When Paris decided to descend to the plain and enter the athletic contest, he doubtless fully intended to return to Œnone after the result of the games. But Œnone, gifted by Apollo with the power of foresight into the future, urged him not to go, and warned him of the dire consequences that were to follow if he once left his pastoral home. But when she found her entreaties and warnings of no avail against his sanguine and ambitious nature, then the wood nymph foretold the wounds that were to befall him after a long and cruel war, and also informed him that when that hour should come, she only could cure him; and then she besought him whom she loved so tenderly to return to her arms when that event should happen and be restored to life and health. And thus they parted.* What weary years, what varied events followed before they met again!

Paris leaves Œnone.

In the games before Troy the young shepherd proved successful over every competitor, including even Hector himself, the most distinguished of Priam's sons. That an unknown rustic should carry off the prize from all of the blood-royal was not to be endured by so high-spirited a hero as Hector. Laying no bounds to his resentment, Hector would have slain Paris if the latter, fleeing for his life from his brother, had not sped for refuge to the shrine of Zeus and seized the altar horns.

Cassandra was officiating at the shrine, and observing the strong family resemblance which the suppliant bore to the sons of

Paris recognized by his family.

* Apollodorus, Hygin.

Priam, inquired concerning his origin. His replies revealed that Paris was none other than the infant who had been exposed on Mount Ida so many years before. In the first blush of joy to find once more a child long lamented, Priam forgot the alarming prediction of Æsacus, and gladly welcomed his son. The resentment of Hector, it is hardly necessary to add, was at once appeased. It is not difficult to imagine the pride and happiness that filled the souls of all to see the royal household increased by the addition of one possessed of such rare personal accomplishments.

Development of the designs of Zeus.

And now we begin to see in what manner Zeus proposed to carry out his purposes by means of the apple of Discord. Events were gradually working to bring about not only the plans of Zeus but secondarily, the promise of Aphrodité to Paris.

CHAPTER II.

HELEN.

Helen of Sparta.

WHILE the events recorded in the previous chapter were occurring at Troy, other no less important events were taking place on the other side of the Egean in Lacedæmon, which were destined to have an extraordinary bearing on the fate of Troy. Tyndarus was king of Laconia, or Sparta, or Lacedæmon, as it is indifferently called, the southernmost kingdom of Greece. To him were born four children, Castor and Pollux, and their sisters, Helen and Clytemnæstra.* Castor and Helen were twins and were reputed to be the offspring of Zeus. The god in the shape of a swan surprised Leda, the spouse of Tyndarus, and as a result of the amour Helen was begotten, destined to become the most celebrated woman of antiquity, both for her beauty and the stupendous events of which it was the occasion. In order to accomplish the originating idea of the divine purpose more consistently, it was stated by some † that Helen was the daughter of Zeus and Nemesis. But this is evidently an allegorical afterthought, intended to give an explanation of the remarkable disasters directly springing from the beauty of the Spartan princess. Hesiod also further differs from other narrators of the legend; he states that Helen was the daughter of Oceanus and Tethys. So renowned did Helen become, even in childhood, that the Athenian hero Theseus and his friend

* Iliad, Odyss., passim. † Stasinus, Cyprian Epics.

Pirithous, formed a plot to abduct her. The friends succeeded in their design on the occasion of a festival, when the maiden was dancing with her companions at the shrine of Diana Orthia. Theseus bore her through the Peloponnessus to Aphidnæ, and placed her in charge of his mother, Æthra, to educate her until such time as she should reach years of maturity. But it is said on the other hand that she was of nubile age * and became by Theseus the mother of a child, entrusted to Clytemnæstra.

Capture of Helen by Theseus.

But Helen was forcibly recovered by her brothers, Castor and Pollux, who invaded and ravaged Attica. The inevitable crisis could not, however, be long deferred. The violence of Theseus was but a prelude and a type of the agitation which was to arouse the princes of Greece until the great question was decided as to the matrimonial fate of the peerless woman of the age. From city to city, from province to province, from isle to isle, of Hellas, her fame was sung, her beauty was extolled. The princes and heroes of the land, to the number of thirty, gathered in succession to the court of Tyndarus, and offered themselves as suitors for the hand of Helen. As the marriage of her sister Clytemnæstra to Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, and the death of her brothers, Castor and Pollux, had left Helen the heiress to her father's throne, the question assumed a double importance. It became a matter of serious moment how to bestow a powerful throne as well as a daughter endowed with such charms, and Tyndarus was not the man to act in a hurry, nor was Helen a woman who would allow herself to be given in marriage without

The princes of Greece suing for the hand of Helen.

* Pausanias.

having a choice in the matter. This as well as other points in the legend, clearly indicate the independence that was accorded to the women of Greece in that early age when they had the character to assert their claims. The suitors, in the meantime, were becoming clamorous for a decision, as if they had any rights in the matter. The question was indeed becoming serious, when a settlement was opportunely reached in this wise.

Odysseus suggests a solution.

Odysseus, of Ithaca, was one of the suitors. He was the son of Laertes, the king of that hardy island, and was reputed to be the wisest man of his time. Soon after arriving at Sparta and surveying the field, he came to the conclusion that among so many suitors his chance of success was very slight. But Odysseus had already fallen in love with Penelope, the niece of Tyndarus, and solicited her hand. His suit was granted. In exchange for this favor, or to state it more precisely, on this condition, Odysseus suggested a plan for solving the great question which was at once adopted with a successful result. It was agreed that the choice of a husband should be left to Helen. The suitors in turn swore a solemn oath to accept her decision as final, and that if, at any future time, the husband she selected should be robbed of her, a contingency by no means impossible, considering her attractions and the character of the time, they were to reassemble with all their available forces and aid in restoring her to her husband. Menelaus,

Helen makes a choice.

brother of Agamemnon, was the fortunate suitor. After the marriage the rejected rivals swallowed their chagrin and departed in good faith to their homes.

Ere long King Tyndarus died, and Menelaus and Helen succeeded to the joint possession of his throne.

Menelaus was a prince without territory of his own, although of lofty descent; nor does he seem to have been a man of pre-eminent intellectual qualities, if we judge from the record. But he was handsome, good-hearted and sincere. Helen herself said of her husband, that he lacked no noble, personal or intellectual gift.*

The illustrious pair seem to have been well mated, since the marriage proved a happy one, for over three years. During that time a daughter was born to them named Hermione. Everything promised for them a long and prosperous reign of public and domestic peace. But a nameless doom brooded over their palace. Destiny had willed another fate. She had marked them as instruments to carry out her purposes; but as responsible beings, they were to be unwilling sufferers for the benefit of others. How the results decreed by Zeus, when he ordered Discord to produce the golden apple, were to be brought about, now became yet more apparent.

Aphrodité remembers her promise to Paris.

Helen, as the one who far excelled the most beautiful women of her time, was evidently the woman whom Aphrodité had promised to Paris. At the instigation of the goddess, therefore, he began to turn longing eyes towards Sparta. The fame of Helen had reached Troy. But how to get to Greece was the problem which caused the handsome prince some trouble. It is evident that for unrecorded reasons, which are obvious enough, however, Paris had not deemed it wise to mention to his family the promise of Aphrodité. As so distant a voyage was a very serious undertaking for the time, the consent of Priam could only be obtained by inventing some

* Odyss.

plausible pretext. Paris found one in his father's love for his sister Hesione, who, as the reader will remember, ransomed Priam and had been bestowed by Hercules on Telamon, king of Salamis. It would seem that little or no tidings of her had reached Troy during all this period, a very strong proof of the meagreness of navigation in that age.

Paris plans to visit Sparta.

Playing on his father's partiality for him, Paris persuaded Priam, in spite of the prophetic warnings of Helenus and Cassandra, to allow a fleet to be constructed by Harmodius* to carry his son to Salamis in quest of information concerning Hesione. From Salamis, Paris sailed for Lacedæmon. On the voyage he was met by Nereus, who foretold the Trojan war.† In order to insure a favorable reception from Menelaus, Paris was obliged to devise a sufficient reason for his voyage. He accordingly arrived at Sparta under pretence of sacrificing at the shrine of Apollo. The reception accorded the Trojan prince by the Spartan monarch and his queen was of the kindest. He was urged to prolong his visit, and such confidence was reposed in his integrity that Menelaus left Paris alone with Helen, while he himself sailed on a short expedition to Crete.

But Paris took advantage of the absence of his host to corrupt the affections of Helen. Infatuated by the personal attractions of her foreign guest, Helen consented to fly her kingdom and family and return with him to Troy. They were accused of carrying with them much of the treasure of Menelaus. By right of marriage it might have been his, while Helen might very naturally think that she retained the right to carry it with her on

*Iliad. † Hor. Ode 1.

renouncing her husband. The love of the guilty pair for each other was undoubtedly genuine, and endured with both for many years.

Flight of Helen.

It must be admitted that there was a strong palliating reason for modifying our opinion of the guilt of Paris and Helen. They both understood that they had been predestined for each other, and had the divine sanction for their love. Aphrodité had promised them to each other.

> "I blame thee not
> The blame is with th' immortals,"

said Priam to Helen, in the Iliad. The ancient world generally allowed the lovers the benefit of this palliative plea. To affirm it, however, is to accept fatalism and the unaccountability of man for his deeds. While to deny it is scarcely just to man, and places the deity in the position of doing evil or tempting to evil in order that good may come.

The primitive character of navigation protracted the return to Troy. Driven by adverse winds sent by Heré, the fleet went as far eastward as Sidon,* which Paris is said to have taken and sacked. Probably a brawl of the crews with Sidonian shipmen led to the latter statement. A later version of the legend asserts that they touched on the coast of Egypt where the king, being incensed by the perfidy of Paris, detained Helen. Thus, it is alleged, she never went to Troy, but only a simulacrum or image of her.† This form of the story, however, so conflicts with the Homeric view, and so disturbs the logical sequence of events as recorded by most of the

* Proclus. † Herod. Eurip. "Helena."

Helen's pretended detention in Egypt.

ancient writers, that it scarcely requires attention except as one of the forms employed for mitigating the odium which might otherwise have rested on the fair fame of the Spartan queen.

Homer relates that the galley wintered at the small isle of Cranaë, off the coast of Attica.* Subsequent to that event it was named Helena.† On arriving at Troy, Helen was cordially received and accepted as the legal spouse of Paris, doubtless through the partiality the old king entertained for his favorite son. Later events indicate that motives of policy were strongly but vainly urged by theking's councillors to induce him to restore Helen to Menelaus, at this time.

* Strab., Paus.

† It is thought by some to be Marathonisi, in the Gulf of Gythium.

CHAPTER III.

THE GREEKS AT AULIS.

INFORMED by Iris of the flight of Helen, Menelaus returned home from Crete, and despatched heralds to all the suitors to remind them of their oath, and request their attendance once more at his court to devise means for her restoration. The princes were true to their word, but it may well be presumed that they resorted to Lacedæmon with far less alacrity than on the previous occasion. In the discussion that ensued it was decided, that before proceeding to hostile measures, it would be expedient to try the efficacy of a peaceful embassy. The ambassadors selected were Odysseus and Diomedes; Menelaus accompanied them voluntarily, hoping that by a personal interview he might succeed in winning back his lost wife.

Measures adopted for the restoration of Helen.

The embassy was hospitably received at Troy, and lodged at the dwelling of Antenor, a statesman connected with the house of Priam, and guided by a moderate and far-sighted policy. But through the determination and influence of Paris, Menelaus was not permitted to see Helen, and the demand for her restoration was denied. War was therefore the only alternative.

On his return to Greece, Menelaus visited his brother Agamemnon and consulted him regarding the measures to be taken for raising an army and fleet. He then proceeded to Pylos to obtain the counsel of Nestor, King of that district.* Nestor was accounted the most upright and experienced of the Greeks of the time, as he was

*Odys., Herod.

also the most aged of her chieftains. As a result of these conferences, it was decided to send a great expedition against Troy. It was to be under the leadership of Agamemnon, and the ships and contingents of warriors were to convene at Aulis.

Unwillingness of Odysseus to go to Troy.

It was not easy to persuade all the suitors to fulfil the oath they had taken to contribute aid in case of the abduction of Helen. Odysseus was one of those whose assistance was of the greatest importance. But he had recently succeeded his father Laertes to the throne of Ithaca, and was so tenderly attached to his wife Penelope and his infant son Telemachus, that he feigned insanity in order to be excused from his obligation, although he was the originator of the plan. To carry out this design, he yoked a horse and a bull together and ploughed the sea sands and sowed them with salt instead of wheat. Palamedes detected the deceit by placing the child of Odysseus before the ploughing animals. The father turned the plough aside to avoid hurting the infant, thus exposing his sanity and the fraud he was practicing. Odysseus being compelled to go to the war, sailed from Ithaca with a contingent of four galleys, little dreaming that twenty long years were to elapse before he should see his little island kingdom again.

Palamedes and his fate.

But Palamedes paid dear for the success of his stratagem. Son of the King of Eubœa, he was the intellectual rival of the Ithacan, and was deemed the most inventive spirit of his time. To him are attributed the invention of chess, backgammon, weights and measures, and the regulation of the lunar division of time. Euripides also states that he invented the Greek vowel signs. He introduced important military modifications, the arrangement of soldiers in battle

line, the posting of sentinels,* and the like. Palamedes accompanied the expedition to Troy, but the long slumbering vindictiveness of Odysseus pursued him. Never forgetting the artifice of Palamedes, Odysseus repaid stratagem with stratagem. He caused gold to be buried in the tent of his foe, and then accused him of having been bribed by the Trojans to play the traitor. On examining the tent of the unfortunate hero the concealed gold was found, and Palamedes was stoned to death by his countrymen, who only discovered their error when it was too late.

Achilles at Scyros.

Achilles, or patronymically Pelides, was another hero who was induced with difficulty to join the expedition in which he ultimately won such imperishable renown. He was the son of Peleus and Thetis, at whose nuptials appeared Discord with the golden apple. To that apple he owed his glory and his doom. Various stories are told of the invulnerability of Achilles. The Homeric account, and the one which detracts least from his courage, gives no color to the idea that he was any less liable to danger than other mortals. Another version, which was the popular one, states that Thetis dipped him in the Styx to make him invulnerable; but that when she immersed him the heel to which her hand was attached remained untouched by the magical waters, and thus became a vital spot. Calchas, the priest of the expedition, had predicted that Troy could not be taken without Achilles, but that he would fall during the siege. Hoping to avert the decrees of Fate, Thetis sent Achilles at the age of nine years to the court of Lycomedes, king of Scyros. There he was concealed among the maidens under female garb. But Odysseus was in turn sent there to discover and urge him to go to

Concealment of Achilles at Scyros.

* Philostrat. Her.ic., Pausan., &c.

the war. But the disguise was so complete that Odysseus was forced to resort to artifice before he could succeed. He appeared at the court as a travelling merchant having various articles for sale. This is, by the way, an interesting example of one form of commerce then practised by the Greeks. Odysseus had concealed various military weapons among these articles, and on suddenly blowing a trumpet and exhibiting a sword, the martial instinct of Achilles betrayed him, when he stepped forth from the group of maidens and demanded the arms of war.* Thus he also was forced to go to Troy. During his concealment at Scyros, Achilles had an amour with Deidamia, daughter of King Lycomedes. She bore him Pyrrhus or Neoptolemus, who joined the army before Troy shortly before the fall of that place.

After various delays the allied fleet was finally collected at Aulis, a small bay on the Euripus, which is the narrow strait between Chalcis and the mainland. Eleven hundred and forty vessels were assembled there, carrying 100,000 men. Levies had been gathered from all parts of Greece; among the leaders were included such heroes as Nestor of Pylos, Diomedes King of Etolia, Ajax Telamon, who ranked next to Achilles in military prowess, and Ajax Oileus King of Locris. Unlike Ajax Telamon, he was small of stature, but of great agility and of a violent disposition. Other noted chiefs were Palamedes, Odysseus, Protesilaus, and Patroclus, the bosom friend of Achilles.

The fleet at Aulis.

The fleet sailed from Aulis directly for Troy. Through the ignorance of the pilots, instead of making the coast of Troy, the first landing was effected at Teu-

* Apollod., Statius.

thrania on the adjoining shores of Mysia. Telephus was at that time king of the country, and as a son-in-law of Priam, was naturally his ally. The Greeks were expected at Troy, while the possibility of a descent on his own territory had warned Telephus of the importance of being prepared for any event. When, therefore, the Greeks landed, they were at once attacked by that monarch, and forced back to their ships with great slaughter. The destruction of the whole army and fleet of the invaders was imminent, so unprepared were they for such a vigorous attack. At this critical moment Bacchus, who was friendly to the Greeks, caused Telephus to trip over a grape-vine. Achilles seized the opportunity to give the prostrate king a severe thrust with his spear; Telephus was carried off the field, and the Greeks, thoroughly disheartened, took to their ships and sailed away. It may be added that the wound of the Mysian king was incurable by human surgery.* In his despair he consulted the oracle at Argos, which directed him to seek a cure from him who had inflicted the hurt; this was the only remedy. Achilles firmly refused to co-operate with the oracle; but Telephus was a son of Hercules on the maternal side. Odysseus was aware that Troy could not be taken without the aid of a son of that demigod. He therefore urged Achilles to consent, hoping that gratitude would secure the alliance of Telephus. Moved by this plea, Achilles consented. The cure was effected by dropping scrapings of rust into the wound from the spear-point which had inflicted it. As Odysseus surmised, Telephus became from this time the firm ally of the Greeks.

First voyage of the expedition against Troy.

Telephus is mortally wounded.

* Eurip., Apoll., etc.

The Greek fleet returns to Aulis.

After leaving the Mysian coast, the Greek or Achaian fleet was overtaken by a terrible storm, which scattered the ships and destroyed many of them. The survivors gradually crept back to Aulis, and after refitting were ready for a fresh start.

But they now encountered a new obstacle in the obstinacy of the winds, which persisted in blowing from an unfavorable quarter. While the Greeks were impatiently waiting a singular portent occurred. A serpent was seen to glide from under the altar, and, climbing on a tree, devour nine birds and their mother in a nest at the top. Calchas, the celebrated soothsayer of the expedition, who had received the power of divination from Apollo, declared that the omen related to the duration of the siege of Troy; nine years were the Greeks doomed to camp before it; in the tenth the city would fall.

By the time the patience of the Greeks was exhausted by the head-winds, Calchas pronounced the weather to have been sent by Artemis or Diana as an exhibition of her wrath against Agamemnon for killing her favorite doe in the chase. Did the ancients dimly perceive that infringement of the laws of the gods is visited with a penalty whether done ignorantly or wilfully; and that the error of one brings the punishment indiscriminately on all? Calchas further affirmed that the wrath of the goddess could only be pacified by sacrificing to her Iphigenia or Iphianassa,* the daughter of Agamemnon himself. The great leader, surnamed the King of Men, was forced to submit to the awful decree. Under pretence that Iphigenia was to be given in marriage to Achilles, her mother Clytemnæstra

Doom of Iphigenia.

* Iliad.

was induced to send her daughter to the camp. How the proud queen avenged the deception practised upon her will appear in the sequel.

When told of her doom, the maiden lamented in the most piteous accents, but finally yielded with exalted dignity and heroism to a fate differing in form but scarcely more cruel than the fate that is often meted out by the gods to the feeble mortals in their grasp. Moved with a pity that was remarkably tardy and scarcely complete in its expression, Artemis, at the supreme moment, snatched the maiden from the sacrificial knife and transported her to Tauris,* leaving a hind in her place. The subsequent fate of Iphigenia will be found elsewhere.

The submissive spirit of Agamemnon having been sufficiently tested, the fleet was at last permitted to sail. This time the sibyl of Erythræ† foretold the success of the Greeks, and Troy was reached without further mishap.

* Eurip. † Apoll.

CHAPTER IV.

THE WRATH OF ACHILLES.

THE prophecies of Calchas seem to have been too often of a severity that was scarcely adapted to cheer the army of which he was the high-priest and counselor. Before the Greeks reached Troy Calchas announced that the first man who stepped foot on the enemy's soil was doomed at once to die. It was evident that some one in the host must be willing to sacrifice himself for the general good. He must make the decision in cool blood, and have the greatness of soul to abide by his resolution. It might well be questioned whether one could be found who would be willing to sacrifice all he held dear with no better reward than eternity in the nether glooms in exchange for the cheerful sunlight and green fields, and tender wife and children of this life.

Hapless fate of Protesilaus.

But there was such a hero in the Greek army, moved by exalted views and noble self-abnegation. Protesilaus, King of Thessaly, was the immortal chieftain who thus devoted himself to his country's cause. When the galleys were beached, and while the invaders hesitated to land, seeing the Trojans ready to attack them, and remembering too well the prophecy of Calchas, the opportunity of Protesilaus had come. He boldly leaped on the sand, and was immediately despatched by the enemy. But they were soon routed, for Achilles, followed by the Greeks, now no longer hesitated to land. In this first battle Achilles slew Cycnus, son of Poseidon, upon whose lineage and character the Trojans greatly depended. Laodamia, the wife of Protesilaus, who seems to have been every way worthy to be the partner of

such a hero, destroyed herself when she heard of the fate of her husband.*

The Trojans had not been entirely idle while the Greeks were preparing for war; they also had made extensive provision for the approaching contest; larger crops had been sowed, harvested and garnered for the siege. And the heralds of King Priam had warned all his tributary chieftains that contingents of provisions, munitions and warriors would be expected from them. He had also arranged with his allies far and near to furnish aid to Troy, if circumstances made it necessary. A powerful garrison had therefore been collected in Troy from Asia Minor and Thrace. Sarpedon brought the Lycians, Æneas led the Dardanians, and there were Carians, Phrygians, Alizonians, Pæonians, and other races gathered at the Troad to aid in the defence, and prevent the rescue of Helen.

Preparations of the Trojans to defend their city.

As soon as the invading force had landed, the fleet was hauled well up in two rows on the beach, in a small bay between the Rhetian and Sigeian Points, there being no sufficient tide in the Egean to disturb them. Tents and booths were ranged in front of the ships, each contingent of soldiers being situated adjoining its own galleys. Ajax Telamon guarded one end of the Greek lines, while Achilles was stationed at the other. The Trojans seem after the first battle to have adopted a defensive policy. Agamemnon began active operations by hurling his army against the massive walls of Troy, intending to carry it by assault. But the attempt so signally failed that the Greeks never again attempted to storm the city until the great battles near the close of the

* Virg., Ovid.

siege. Henceforth they relied on the slow tactics of a siege and the stratagems which it might suggest.

The Achaians, therefore, directed their efforts for nine long years to supplying themselves with provisions and reducing Troy by gradually wearing out its resources. For this purpose part of the Greek army was detailed to guard the fleet. Another detachment was employed in raising grain in the valleys of the Chersonese.* The remainder were sent against various cities which were either subject or allied to Troy. By the capture of these places the Greeks hoped not only to secure forage for themselves, but also to cut off Priam's supplies of men and food. And thus the city would finally fall from sheer exhaustion. But this plan, although a good one, was not wholly successful; for allies in distant lands often forwarded succors to Priam. At the end of the ninth year of the siege the apparent strength of the two parties therefore remained nearly equally balanced. Combats were probably of frequent occurrence in the meanwhile, sometimes between two champions, sometimes between large bodies of troops, but never with any decided results.

The Greeks decide to take Troy by siege.

Operations during the first nine years.

Achilles was endowed with a superb physique and a lofty, overbearing, impetuous and unconquerable character. It was therefore natural that he should be the leader of the predatory expeditions which stormed and burned Pedasus, Lemnos, Thebé and other inland and seaboard towns to the number of twenty-three; with a fleet he also ravaged the coast of Mysia and Lesbos. The territory of Æneas was spoiled in these furious in-

* Thucyd.

cursions, several sons of Priam were captured and sold into slavery, and young Troilus, celebrated for his handsome person, was slain. It is said* that during this period of predatory warfare, Achilles was seized by an intense longing to meet Helen. It was a natural inclination that the first of the Greeks should wish to see her who might justly be called the impersonation of beauty and love. It is further recorded that Thetis and Aphrodité contrived a meeting between these distinguished individuals. Grote justly observes that it was "a scene which would have been highly interesting in the hands of Homer."

When an interval of comparative quiet and absence of decisive events occurs, we are liable to fall into false security and to expect a continuance of a certain average of calm and action. But it is in that very interval that the seeds of the tempest are secretly preparing to burst forth with tenfold fury. Thus it was that in this long period of desultory and inconclusive events including intervals of quiet, that the crisis was prepared, which culminated in the fall of Troy within the space of a few months after it began. At the sacking of Lyrnessus, the Greeks, led by Achilles, found among the other captives Hippodamia, or Briseis, as she was called after her father Brises, high-priest of Zeus at Pedasus. She was the wife of Mines, who was killed in the assault, and was far-famed for her extraordinary loveliness. The great Achilles fell desperately in love with his fair captive, and transferred her to his tent. By accepting her lot without complaint she maintained her power over the hero whose passion for

Renewal of active hostilities against Troy.

Capture of Chryseis and Briseis.

* Argument. Cypr., Düntzer.

her continued to the last, and resulted in the most momentous events.

A similar circumstance occurred at the storming of Hippoplakian Thebé. Achilles captured there a lovely maiden, named Astynomé or Chryseis. She was daughter of Chryses, priest of Apollo at Chrysa. Two reasons are assigned for her being at Thebé. Either she had fled thither considering it to be more secure than Chrysa, or she was attending the festival of Artemis.* Such were the charms of Chryseis that she was deemed worthy of being made the companion of Agamemnon the King of Men, who, according to the custom of the time, was permitted to choose concubines from his captives. That this custom was, however, not always tamely submitted to by the lawful wife, is shown by the manner in which Clytemnæstra, the wife of Agamemnon, received his concubine Cassandra on his return to Mycenæ.

Chryses asks for the restoration of his child.

Between Chryseis and her father there existed the most tender affection. He could not reconcile himself to the loss of his daughter. Chryses therefore ventured to enter the camp of the Greeks, to seek her restoration.† Green branches, the insignia of his priestly office, were attached to his golden staff, and in his hand he bore gifts suitable to offer the king.

The two Atreidæ, as the royal brothers Agamemnon and Menelaus were called, were assembled together with other chieftains in the pavilion of the King of Men when Chryses was admitted to an audience. In moving accents the priest besought Agamemnon to restore to him the child of his old age. By such magnanimity, he

* Iliad. † Eusthathius ad Il.

said, the Greeks would do reverence to Apollo, and ensure success to their enterprise and a safe return to their homes. But Agamemnon rejected the old man's plea with contumelious rage, and commanded him to vacate the camp without delay. Profoundly depressed, Chryses wended slowly homewards along the sands of the sounding sea; and as he went he raised his streaming eyes to heaven and besought Apollo to avenge the insult offered to his priest.

Apollo sends a pestilence on the Greeks.

The god gave a favorable ear to the cry of his greatly injured votary. He sent a destructive pestilence on the camp of the Achaians, which smote down men and beasts in great numbers. This is the Homeric account of the great calamity which befell the invading army. According to the Cypria it was sent by Zeus, who compassionated the protracted sufferings of the Trojans. But this is manifestly inconsistent with the statement already cited that Zeus intended the war as a means for reducing the world's population.

The Greeks were reduced to such straits that Calchas was consulted. He gave the opinion that the only way to assuage the wrath of Apollo was to restore Chryseis to her father.

Calchas gives his opinion regarding the situation.

Agamemnon received this advice very intemperately, even accusing Calchas of being secretly his foe. Achilles took the part of the soothsayer and severely animadverted against the selfish conduct of the King of Men, who for his own ends had brought the pestilence on the host and was unwilling now to sacrifice his own interests to make amends. Agamemnon replied that if he must restore Chryseis, he would see to it that Achilles did not profit at his expense.

Wrath of Achilles.

Bryseis, he declared, should take her place in his bed. Achilles responded with the utmost violence, drawing his blade and threatening the life of the monarch. But being restrained in his fury by Athene, he withdrew to his high-beaked ships, where he sullenly remained with his friend Patroclus and the Myrmidonian troops. Aggrieved for the insult offered to her son, Thetis obtained a promise from Zeus to avenge Achilles. That Agamemnon should have been able to execute such an inexcusable outrage without arousing opposition among the other chieftains is a remarkable indication of the allegiance to authority which obtained even in that rude and turbulent age among the tribes of Greece.

CHAPTER V.

COMBAT OF MENELAUS AND PARIS.

Active operations between the armies resumed.

THE withdrawal of Achilles proved exceedingly disastrous to the Greeks. The colossal grandeur of his character, the irresistible power of his onset, the invariable success and incredible ferocity which attended his arms, had forced the Trojans to retire within the walls of Troy, while he carried devastation and blood over the surrounding plains.

But the beleaguered Trojans were not long in discovering the discord in the camp of the invaders, and profiting by the opportunity which it afforded. There were many redoubtable chieftains in the Greek camp, such as Ajax Telamon, Diomedes and Menelaus, but none of them were more than a match for Hector, Æneas, Polydamus, Sarpedon or even Paris, who were among the prominent leaders of the Trojan forces. Conscious of the importance of the crisis, the Trojans hastened the arrival of fresh reinforcements, if we may judge from the context, and a tremendous conflict now opened on the plains of the Simois and Scamander.

Soon after the foregoing events, Agamemnon dreamed that he beheld his army victorious and Troy overthrown. Not doubting the prophetic truth of a vision which had really been sent by Zeus to chastise the Greeks, in fulfilment of his promise to Thetis, Agamemnon resolved to put the phantasies of his sleep into execution. He was not hindered by the fact that he could have chosen no worse time to put his army in motion and assume the offensive, for his warriors and chieftains were disheart-

ened by the terrible ravages of the pestilence, and the absence of their ablest champion. At the summons of Agamemnon the Greeks issued forth to learn his commands and intentions.

" As when a num'rous flock of birds, or geese,
Or cranes, or long-necked swans, on Asian mead,
Beside Cayster's stream, now here now there,
Disporting, ply their wings; then settle down
With clam'rous noise, that all the mead resounds;
So to Scamander's plain, from tents and ships,
Pour'd forth the countless tribes; the firm earth groaned
Beneath the tramp of steeds and armèd men.
Upon Scamander's flow'ry mead they stood,
Unnumbered as the vernal leaves and flow'rs,
Or as the multitudinous swarms of flies,
That round the cattle-sheds in spring-tide pour,
While the warm milk is frothing in the pail;
So numberless upon the plain array'd
For Troy's destruction, stood the long-haired Greeks,
And as experienc'd goat-herds, when their flocks
Are mingled in the pasture, portion out
Their sev'ral charges, so the chiefs array'd
Their squadrons for the fight; while in the midst
The mighty monarch, Agamemnon mov'd." *

But the king of men found his troops were in no warlike mood. They were weary of the long war. Indeed, it required all the address and wisdom of Odysseus, Nestor, and the other leaders, to turn the Achaians from the universal longing to return to their wives and children.

Agamemnon obeys an evil dream, and calls out his forces.

Thersites, a boisterous demagogue, added to the confusion by inciting the army to mutiny. But Odysseus silenced and reduced him to obedience by a few severe blows from

* Trans. by Earl of Derby.

his sceptre. The hero of Ithaca then incited the Greeks to the approaching battle by an ingenious appeal to their love of martial renown. The catalogue of the men and ships of the Greeks and the Trojans suggested by this review, is one of the most extraordinary passages in the immortal verse of Homer, and indicates a remarkable acquaintance with the topography of the eastern Mediterranean.*

Agamemnon seized the moment when the army received the speech of Odysseus with shouts of applause, and ordered a general advance. He did not have long to wait in order to learn what action the Trojans would take.

Priam and his chieftains were at that very time holding a council of war. Let Homer here describe the summing up of the catalogue and the announcement to Priam of the advance of the Greeks.

Advance of the Trojan army.

"These were the leaders and the chiefs of Greece;
Say, Muse, of these, who with th' Atridæ came,
Horses and men, who claimed the highest praise.
Of steeds, the bravest and the noblest far
Were those Eumelus drove, Admetus' son;
Both swift as birds, in age and color match'd;
Alike in height, and measur'd o'er the back;
Both mares, by Phœbus of the silver bow
Reared in Pieria, thunderbolts of war.
Of men, while yet Achilles held his wrath,
The mightiest far was Ajax Telamon.
For with Achilles, and the steeds that bore
The matchless son of Peleus, none might vie;
But 'mid his beakéd ocean-going ships
He lay, with Agamemnon, Atreus' son,
Indignant; while his troops upon the beach

*Iliad II.

With quoits and jav'lins whiled away the day,
And feats of archery; their steeds the while
The lotus-grass and marsh-grown parsley cropped,
Each standing near their car; the well wrought cars
Lay all unheeded in the warrior's tents;
They, inly pining for their godlike chief,
Roamed listless up and down, nor join'd the fray.
Such was the host, which, like devouring fire,
O'erspread the land; the earth beneath them groaned:
As when the Lord of thunder, in his wrath,
The earth's foundations shakes, in Arimi,
Where, buried deep, 'tis said, Typhœus lies;
So at their coming, groaned beneath their feet
The earth, as quickly o'er the plain they spread.
To Troy, sent down by ægis bearing Jove,
With direful tidings storm-swift Iris came.
At Priam's gate, in solemn conclave met,
Were gathered all the Trojans, young and old:
Swift Iris stood amidst them, and, the voice
Assuming of Polites, Priam's son,
The Trojan scout, who, trusting to his speed,
Was posted on the summit of the mound
Of ancient Æsyetes, there to watch
Till from their ships the Grecian troops should land;
His voice assuming, thus the goddess spoke:
"'Old man, as erst in peace, so still thou lov'st
The strife of words; but fearful war is nigh.
Full many a host in line of battle rang'd
My eyes have seen; but such a force as this,
So mighty and so vast, I ne'er beheld:
In number as the leaves, or as the sand,
Against the city o'er the plain they come.
Then, Hector, for to thee I chiefly speak,
This do; thou know'st how various our allies,
Of diff'rent nations and discordant tongues:
Let each then those command o'er whom he reigns
And his own countrymen in arms array.'
She said; and Hector knew the voice divine,

And all, dissolv'd the council, flew to arms,
The gates were open'd wide; forth pour'd the crowd,
Both foot and horse; and loud the tumult rose.
Before the city stands a lofty mound,
In the mid plain, by open space enclosed;
Men call it Batiæa; but the gods
The tomb of swift Myrina; mustered there
The Trojans and allies their troops arrayed.
The mighty Hector of the gleaming helm,
The son of Priam, led the Trojan host:
The largest and the bravest band were they,
Bold spearmen all, who followed him in arms.
Anchises' valiant son, Æneas, led
The Dardans; him, mid Ida's jutting peaks,
Immortal Venus to Anchises bore,
A goddess yielding to a mortal's love:
With him, well skill'd in war, Archilochus
And Acamas, Antenor's gallant sons.

* * * * *

Sarpedon last, and valiant Glaucus led
The Lycian bands, from distant Lycia's shore,
Beside the banks of Xanthus' eddying stream."*

After the opposing armies had been marshalled facing each other, and while they were awaiting the opening of the impending battle in breathless silence, Paris,—who is called Alexander in the Iliad—boldly advanced between the opposing lines.† Over his shoulder was thrown a leopard's skin. In his hand he held two spears, which he struck against the metal buckler, with a clang that called the attention of friend and foe, while in a resonant voice he challenged the Greeks to send forth a

Paris challenges the Greeks to single combat.

* Trans. by Earl of Derby.

† Iliad.

champion to meet him in single combat, and settle the fate of the war on the issue.

Menelaus beheld Paris with greedy eyes; he leaped from his chariot, rushed from the enemy's ranks, and with opprobrious epithets, fiercely accepted the challenge of his faithless rival. But Paris sneaked behind the Trojan lines; he was conscience-smitten, as it would seem, for there is no other evidence given in the whole legend to suggest that he was otherwise than a brave man.

Hector perceived the imminent danger to the Trojan cause, if the inexplicable weakness of Paris were allowed to pass without an attempt to repair it. He therefore upbraided his brother in unequivocal terms. This timely rebuke brought Paris to a sense of the very serious mistake he had made. Acknowledging the justice of the reproof he declared that he was entirely ready to meet Menelaus, and to make the duel more solemn and imperative in its results, suggested that a compact be drawn up and ratified by mutual oaths.

Combat between Paris and Menelaus.

Gratified to find Paris in such a martial mood, Hector conveyed the challenge to Menelaus who accepted it with rapture. Great also was the satisfaction in both armies at the news, for they saw in the approaching arbitrament of arms the conclusion of the war and the auspicious return of peace.

But it was necessary first, to ratify the stipulations of the combat with oaths and sacrifices mutually sanctioned by the kings of Greece and Troy. Accordingly a swift messenger was despatched to request the presence of King Priam on the field. Overcome by emotion, natural to one of his extreme age through the imminent danger to which his favorite son was to be exposed, and the arrival of the crisis which was to decide the fate

of his dominion, Priam mounted his chariot and was driven to the arena between the hosts, where Agamemnon, Odysseus and Hector were awaiting his arrival. A black and a white lamb were furnished by the Trojans, and the Greeks added a third. Wine in long amphoræ was also provided, and a golden goblet for the libations.

Preliminary ceremonies to the combat.

On the arrival of Priam, the heralds poured wine over the joined hands of the two kings. Then Agamemnon cropped a few locks from the foreheads of the victims, which were divided among all present. After this the Greek king raised his voice and cried, "Oh thou, the mightiest of celestial powers, immortal Zeus, and all ye gods who rule this spacious orb, thou far rolling sun, ye controllers of the floods, and ye gods and furies of the infernal glooms, who wreak vengeance alike on kings and subjects whose lips have uttered perjured vows! bear witness to these our oaths and covenant. If Menelaus falls before the spear of Paris, let the Trojan keep the woman and her treasures, while the Greeks return to Hellas. But if Paris falls beneath my brother's spear, then may great Menelaus take the woman and the treasures, and after ages bear record of the deed! But if, in such event, the Trojans refuse to yield up the woman, may the sword be drawn anew, and bloody battle prove which side deserves to win!"

Sacrifice before the combat.

After pronouncing this invocation, both monarchs tasted wine from the same goblet, and poured the remainder on the ground as a libation to Zeus, at the same time pronouncing this awful imprecation together; "Ye gods, even as this wine is poured out so may their blood be spilled who first break this compact! May their wives become outcasts, and their race be lost in oblivion!"

Excusing himself on the plea of old age, Priam returned after this to the citadel. But while these preliminaries were being transacted, Helen, aware of the general conflict that was imminent, of which she was the primal cause, retired to her chamber. There, devoured by alternating remorse, anxiety and hope, she sought relief from her emotions by plying her needle on tapestry work. But Iris, a heaven-sent messenger, informed her that Menelaus and Paris were about to decide her fate in a mortal struggle.

Helen resorts to the walls to see the combat.

Hastily rising, the queen of Lacedæmon and paramour of Paris, drew a veil over her head, and followed the messenger through the streets. As she approached the Skaian gate her mien was so graceful and majestic, her beauty so astonishing, spite of the years and troubles that had passed over her, that even the elders gossipping on the stone-benches in the gate, too decrepit to take part in the rigors of battle, could not refrain from exclamations of admiration.

Near the gate was a narrow stairway leading up to the ramparts. Mounting these steps, and threading her way among the women and children who were watching from the battlements, she gained a post of observation. Familiar with many of the chieftains of the Greek host, who, as her suitors, had been to Lacedæmon, she pointed out to Priam one and another whom she recognized; a fact which indicates how near to the city was the scene of actual conflict.

The lists having been marked out by Hector and Odysseus, the fateful lots were shaken in a helmet. Turning away his head, Hector drew the lot which was to decide whether of the champions was to have the first cast of the spear. The caprice of the gods was again

apparent. Paris had been directed by a goddess to go to Lacedæmon ; but when he was to make good her advice in combat, she left him to his fate, and he was doomed to draw the adverse chance. From their respective lines the champions advanced and entered the lists. Moving swiftly forward, and poising the spear over his head, Paris hurled the missile at Menelaus. The point struck the clanging buckler of the Greek and fell back blunted to the ground.

The fate of Helen hangs on the cast of a spear.

Then Menelaus invoking celestial aid, approached his antagonist in turn and cast his spear. It pierced the shield of Paris, and striking his corselet glanced downwards and slightly wounded the thigh. Before Paris could fairly recover himself, Menelaus was upon him, sword in hand, and dealt him a staggering blow on the helmet which shivered the blade. With a horrible imprecation, Menelaus seized the crest of his opponent's helmet, and dashing him to the ground would have dragged him into the Greek camp and dispatched him if Aphrodité had not tardily come to his aid. The thong which bound the helmet opportunely burst. Blinded with dust and gore, Paris sprang to his feet, threw an ineffectual dart at Menelaus and took refuge in the Trojan lines ; he then sought concealment for his mortification in his palace and in the arms of Helen, who, even while upbraiding him for his weakness, was still unable to resist the influence of his personal attractions.

Result of the combat.

CHAPTER VI.

STORMING OF THE GREEK CAMP.

AFTER the discomfiture of Paris, both armies naturally supposed that Helen and her treasures would be restored to Menelaus in good faith. But when Agamemnon stepped before his ranks and demanded the fulfilment of the conditions of the combat, the gods were holding council upon that very question on Olympus.

Animated by inextinguishable hate towards Troy, Heré drew from Zeus a promise that Ilium should be destroyed. Immediately she sent Pallas to the scene of contention to prevent the Trojans from carrying out the terms; for if once Helen were restored, the Greeks in turn would leave, and Troy would thus be saved.

The gods hold a council to decide the destiny of Troy.

While the negotiations were pending, Pallas instigated Pandarus, chief of the Zeleian allies of Troy, to a fatal act of perfidy. Drawing an arrow from his quiver, he took aim at Menelaus, who was entirely off his guard. The dart inflicted a flesh wound near the heart, but was prevented from being mortal by his embroidered baldrick. Still further to hinder the possibility of peace, Pandarus ordered his troops to send a shower of arrows at the Greeks. Further conference after this was impossible. Hector and Agamemnon retired in mutual wrath and sorrow to their respective commands, and hostilities were resumed.

Pandarus shoots once too often.

In the battle that followed the Greeks, aroused to fury by the treachery of Pandarus, drove the Trojans under the walls of Troy. There Hector succeeded in rallying

them by reminding them that the invincible Achilles was not in the field, and that the sun, yet high in the heavens, afforded ample time to snatch victory from defeat ere nightfall. But Pandarus and many of the Trojan host had been slain, and the result was so doubtful Hector agreed with Helenus the high-priest, that solemn supplication should be offered at the shrine of Pallas by Hecuba and other noble matrons.

Hostilities resumed and the Trojans retire.

Both armies rested on their arms during a short interval while Hector strode up to the citadel. To the women and children who asked news of their husbands, sons and brothers, he prudently replied that the result was uncertain and that prayer must be offered to the gods. Thence he sought his royal mother; evidently to bid her farewell. She entreated him to lay aside his armor and refresh himself with drink. But he replied, "My mother, wine is not for the soldier who would retain his senses for the dread requirements of battle. But lead the matrons of Troy to the shrine of Pallas, bearing the sacred peplus, while I go to arouse Paris to his duty in this crisis."

Hector now entered the apartments of Paris and Helen. Planting his spear, which was twelve cubits long, forcefully upon the tesselated floor he cried, "Is this a time, oh Paris, for you to show your hatred to Troy? Must you by your misconduct combine with the Greeks to dishearten the Trojans? Have you forgotten that it is on your account that the Trojans bleed? Is there no gratitude in your soul for the calamities they have endured for you? If you would not see the flames bursting over these walls and your name consigned to eternal infamy, gird on your idle blade, and aid me to hurl back the enemy to the fleet."

Hector's final arrangements before renewing the fight.

Interview of Paris and Hector.

"Ah, my brother Hector, what you say is but too true," replied Paris, who was burnishing his arms. "But you mistake when you think me indifferent to the fate of Ilium. It was not resentment toward the Trojans that brought me here, but sorrow, such as you never knew, bade me hide from the sight of men. Even now my wife was gently urging me to go forth to battle. I will try the issue once more, and will follow you."

Last interview of Hector and Andromache.

Hector proceeded thence to find his wife Andromache in his own apartments at the farther end of the Pergamus. But he was told that in her anxiety for her husband's safety, she had repaired to the battlements, accompanied by their child Astyanax, and his nurse. Swiftly darting from street to street, Hector reached the Skaian Gate, and found Andromache in the barbican tower over the gate.

With a joyful exclamation Andromache sprang to meet her husband. For awhile the stern warrior on whose shoulders rested the destiny of Troy,—for while he lived the city was safe the oracle had declared,—laid care aside, and endeavored to calm the apprehensions of his lovely partner. She reminded him that she was an orphan whom he had loved and married when she escaped from the slaughter of her family at the burning of Thebê by Achilles. She urged that she and their infant needed his care, and she besought him not to expose a life so indispensable to Troy.

But he gently replied that it would be impossible for him, either for his own renown or the good of his country, to withdraw from the field. And then he foretold his own approaching death, the fall of Troy, and the too probable fate of the wife he loved so well. Then, as if to soften the effect of this melancholy prediction, the

hero stretched out his arms to clasp his boy. But Astyanax, affrighted by the horse-hair crest on his father's helmet, clung to the nurse. Glancing at Andromache with a pleased smile, Hector laid aside the helmet and took the child. Kissing him fondly, he prayed heaven to watch over him and to make him a greater warrior than his father, the bulwark of Troy in a later age, and the solace of his mother's declining years. Restoring the boy to his nurse, Hector bade the weeping Andromache a last farewell. With fast flowing tears she returned to the palace.

Hector was now joined by Paris, and the brothers strode forward rapidly to the plain where they had in years agone contended for the black bull in the games. After a hasty consultation with Helenus, Hector thought it well not to test the valor of his weary and outnumbered army any further on that day, but rather to devise a plan for gaining time for them to recover their strength and spirits. A single combat seemed the most feasible means of accomplishing this end; accordingly Hector boldly advanced into the narrow space which separated the hosts. His commanding mien arrested the attention of the enemy, and Agamemnon ordained silence, while Hector, in a tone of thunder, challenged the Greeks to send their bravest champion to meet him in single combat before the setting of the sun.

Single combat between Hector and Ajax Telamon.

Combat of Hector and Ajax Telamon.

The character and bearing of Hector inspired respect and apprehension. The bravest of the Greeks were aghast at the proposal of the magnificent hero of Troy. While the Greek chieftains thus hesitated, Menelaus, although wounded by the arrow of Pandarus, offered himself to redeem the honor of the Greek name. But the reproaches of the patri-

archal Nestor, King of Pylos, brought the other chieftains to a sense of their disgrace. Nine sprang forth at once and claimed the championship. Their names were placed in a helmet, and the lot fell to Ajax Telamon, who in size and strength was only second to Achilles among the Greeks. The conflict was fought with equal courage and dexterity on each side; and when at night-fall the staves of the heralds interposed between the swords of the combatants, neither had gained the advantage. Separating with mutual respect, Ajax gave Hector his baldric, while the latter gave his sword to Ajax.

That night a council was held in the tent of Agamemnon. The recent battle had been so indecisive, and the result of the next was so dubious, that, by the advice of Nestor, the Greeks proceeded to throw up entrenchments around the fleet without delay.

Midnight councils of the two armies.

The Trojan chiefs also held a council of war in the pavilion of Priam, near the Skaian Gate. The discussion was warmly debated, for the excessive slaughter and varying fortune of the day had depressed the Trojans. The expediency of offering to restore Helen and the treasures was proposed by Antenor, who always inclined to moderate and temporizing measures, and was even accused of favoring the Greeks.* In this case he was secretly prompted by Helen herself, now exhausted by the succession of disasters for which she was at least indirectly responsible, and perhaps anxious to return to Lacedæmon.

The restoration of Helen discussed.

But Paris violently opposed the idea of restoring her, and declared that it was not even to be suggested so long as he was alive. But he was willing to

* Odyss.

give back her treasures, if that would do any good. As it was evident that the determined will of Paris, together with his abiding love for Helen, made any further concessions impossible, the council broke up. On the following day a herald was sent from Priam to Agamemnon offering to restore the treasures of Menelaus, and proposing a truce for burning the dead. The former proposal was rejected with scorn, but an armistice was readily granted, the king of men nobly exclaiming,

Armistice for paying funeral rites to the slain.

"We grudge no funeral sacrifices to the dead."

Both armies devoted three days to burning the corpses. But in addition to this labor the Greeks detailed a large body of men to surround the fleet with a fosse and rampart of earth. So strong were these works that Poseidon obtained permission from Zeus to destroy them, after the war, lest they should outlast the memory of the walls which he and Apollo had built around Troy.

The Greeks raise a rampart around their fleet.

Hostilities were resumed on the fourth day. A storm sent by Poseidon, broke over the combatants. They fought amid the crash of thunder peals and blinding flashes of lightning. The torrents of rain swelled the Simois and Scamander until the tawny floods overflowed their banks.

During this din of the elements and of man, the Trojans, animated by the heroism of Hector, drove the Greeks back to their entrenchments. The aged Nestor nearly fell a victim to the shafts of Paris, who slew one of his chariot horses, and would inevitably have slain the old hero himself if Diomedes had not carried him off in his own chariot.

When night caused a cessation of hostilities, Hector called a council, and ordered the army to bivouac under arms.

So Hector said, and sea like roared his host,
Then loosed their sweating horses from the yoke
And each beside his chariot bound his own;
And oxen from the city, and goodly sheep
In haste they drove, and honey-hearted wine
And bread from out the houses brought, and heaped
Their fire-wood, and the winds from off the plain
Roll'd the rich vapor far into the heaven.
And these all night upon the ridge of war
Sat glorying; many a fire before them blazed:
As when in heaven the stars about the moon
Look beautiful, when all the winds are laid,
And every height comes out, and jutting peak
And valley, and the immeasurable heavens
Break open to the highest, and all the stars
Shine, and the shepherd gladdens in his heart:
So many a fire between the ships and stream
Of Xanthus blazed before the towers of Troy,
A thousand on the plain; and close by each
Sat fifty in the blaze of burning fire;
And champing golden grain, the horses stood
Hard by their chariots, waiting for the dawn.*

Agamemnon calls a Council at night.

But with the invaders matters wore a darker aspect. Calling a council, Agamemnon proposed that the Greeks should abandon the siege as hopeless, and return to Greece. His advice was overruled, and a deputation headed by Phœnix was sent instead, to present the most flattering overtures to Achilles, including the offer of a daughter of Agamemnon and seven cities if he would consent to restore victory to the Greek arms by his presence in battle. He courteously but inflexibly declined to aid the monarch who had robbed him of his beloved Briseis, even though his extremity involved the destruction of the combined host.

* Iliad VIII., Trans. by Tennyson.

On the return of the deputation reporting their ill-success, Agamemnon lay prostrate on his couch groaning with anxiety. But overpowered at last by a sense that upon his action depended the destinies of Greece, he arose and summoned another council. Visiting the leading chieftains in succession, and arousing them from their heavy slumbers, he summoned them to meet at once in his pavilion. Never, he said, had such prodigies of slaughter been performed by a mere mortal man as he had that day witnessed at the hands of the mighty Hector; something must be devised to check his victorious career or destruction awaited the host of Greece.

Nestor suggested that a spy should seek the Trojan lines, and learn the plans of Hector. Diomedes volunteered to go, and selected the shrewd and crafty Odysseus to accompany him. The two heroes at once started on their hazardous errand. They were cheered by a favorable omen,—the cry of a heron on their right. All was silent and mournful on the corpse-strewn field over which they carefully picked their way.

Spies sent to reconnoitre.

Surmising the condition of the enemy Hector had also called a council, and had deputed Dolon as a spy to learn the designs of the Greeks. Dolon disguised himself in a wolf skin.* But this availed him little, for he was intercepted by Diomedes and Odysseus who concealed themselves behind a heap of corpses until he had passed, and then started in pursuit. Hearing their steps behind him, he waited for them, supposing them to be Trojans.

Dolon divulges the secrets of the Trojan movements.

Warily addressing him, the Greek spies learned that the Trojans had stationed sentinels around their ranks; but their allies, having less at stake, were incautiously sleep-

* Iliad., Eurip.

ing without setting a watch. Dolon also informed them that on the extreme right lay Rhesus, king of Thrace, who had just arrived with a large force of auxiliaries. He also had with him a pair of steeds white as driven snow and fleet as the wind; they were of inestimable price, for the oracle had declared that Troy should never fall if once they drank the water of the Xanthus and pastured on the grass of the Troad.*

Rhesus.

After obtaining this information, Diomedes and Odysseus slew Dolon and offered his weapons a sacrifice to Pallas that she might give them success. They found everything as described by Dolon. Rhesus was slumbering on the ground, and the talismanic horses were harnessed to the chariot ready for the first alarm. Moving with the utmost caution among the sleeping ranks, Diomedes slew twelve of the Thracians, and Odysseus drew them away to make room for the chariot. After slaying Rhesus, the Greek spies mounted the chariot and drove the horses to their camp.

The horses of Rhesus.

Great was the consternation of the Trojans when they discovered the catastrophe at dawn. But the panic that might have ensued was averted by the presence of mind of Helenus, who asserted that there was yet time to retake the horses of Rhesus, and give them of the water and the herbage that would insure the safety of Troy.

It is not within the scope of this narrative to go into a detailed account of the battles described so minutely in the immortal pages of the Iliad. It must suffice to say that the Greeks, flushed by the nocturnal exploit of Diomedes and Odysseus, resumed the offensive. But when Agamemnon was forced to retire wounded, Hector

*Virg. Æn.

advanced his lines, and the Greeks were driven behind their entrenchments.

Poseidon, under the guise of Calchas, rallied the Greeks, while Heré, trembling at their threatened overthrow, borrowed the magic girdle of Aphrodite. By means of this the goddess so wrought on the amorousness of Zeus, her husband, that he relaxed his watchfulness for a time. During the interval the gods favorable to the Greeks exerted themselves to crush the Trojans, and matters might have gone hard with them if the ruler of Olympus had not opportunely awaked. Furious at the deities who had dared to take advantage of his weakness, Zeus at once turned the scale in favor of the Trojans, who returned with renewed ardor against the Greek fortifications.

Heré beguiles Zeus.

Paris wounded Diomedes and Machaon, the chief surgeon of the enemy. Sarpedon and Hector forced one of the gates, and broke down a breach through which the Trojans swarmed in victorious hordes. Bearing blazing torches, they set some of the ships on fire and brought the fleet to the brink of ruin.

But when the flames burst from the galley of Ajax Telamon, Achilles, who had been a keen observer of the conflict, saw that the decisive moment had arrived. But still reluctant to aid Agamemnon in person, he yielded to the suggestions of Nestor, and permitted his friend Patroclus to don his armor, and thus personifying Achilles himself, to lead the brazen-mailed Myrmidons to the rescue.

Patroclus takes the field.

Before they started he offered a libation to Jove and a prayer that he would bring his friend Patroclus back to him unharmed. He also tersely urged the Myrmidons to acquit themselves worthily. Fresh and burning with ardor they sprang to battle.

Exhausted by the desperate resistance they had encountered, the Trojans had reached that critical point when, with victory in their grasp, they were liable to see it snatched away by any slight reverse that might precipitate a panic. Hector, although prostrated by a huge stone hurled against his corselet by the prodigious arm of Ajax Telamon, was employing every exertion to stimulate his troops. At this juncture Patroclus appeared resplendent in the dazzling armor and mounted in the chariot of Achilles. He urged on the pied horses with irresistible ardor at the head of the Myrmidons.

The Trojans naturally mistook Patroclus for Achilles. The old terror seized them. They turned and fled; the panic was awful and overwhelming. In vain did Hector seek to rally the fugitive host, defending the rear with his broad buckler. Elated by the extraordinary turn in the battle the Greeks followed, carrying slaughter before them. Many brave men went down before the spear of Patroclus, who lacked but little of entering Troy and finishing the war at a blow. Among those who fell in this terrific slaughter was Sarpedon, the purest and most faultless character in the Iliad, as he was also of a nobler lineage than any other hero in either army. He was a son of Zeus by Laodamia, daughter of Bellerophon. His divine sire hesitated long before he allowed the dark decrees of Fate to cut short the life of his illustrious son. By command of Zeus, Sleep and Death conveyed his corpse to Lycia.

Patroclus strikes the Trojans with a panic.

But Hector was able to bring his troops to a stand before the Skaian Gate, and in a short and vigorous combat brought the brief but glorious career of Patroclus to a close. Hector speedily stripped him of the armor of Achilles; but

Death of Patroclus.

The mangled corpse of Patroclus was rescued by Menelaus and Ajax Telamon after a long and doubtful struggle. The conflict only ceased when Achilles, informed of the fight going on for the possession of the body of his friend, arose in the majesty of his wrath and sorrow, and mounting the rampart shouted words of encouragement to the Greeks. The sound of his well known and terrible voice sent a panic to the hearts of the Trojans. They relaxed their efforts, and the Myrmidons bore back the corpse, together with the steeds and chariot of Achilles.

CHAPTER VII.

DEATH OF HECTOR.

WHEN Achilles learned of the death of Patroclus and the loss of his armor, the son of Peleus strewed dust on his head and groveled on the ground. He gave vent to his grief in loud lamentations. But Thetis, the silver-footed Nereid who dwelt in the caverns of the deep sea, was aware of the mourning of her son. With her troops of attendant nereids she arose to the shore near the Greek camp. Wending with solemn step to the tent of Achilles, his mother sought to console him by the assurance that although doomed to but a brief existence, he was destined to live long enough to slay the redoubtable Hector. But she warned her son not to engage in battle until she could procure him a suit of armor equal to that which he had lost.

Dismissing her nereids to their ocean caves, Thetis ascended to Olympus and waited on Hephæstus, a cunning artificer no less than a god, who, notwithstanding the extraordinary uncouthness of his person, had been so prospered that he had received for wife Aphrodité herself, the goddess of beauty.

Thetis consoles Achilles and brings him a suit of armor.

Thetis found Hephæstus at his forge; he gave her a cordial greeting, and readily agreed to make a suit of armor that should be unsurpassed in workmanship and splendor, and be abundantly able to protect its wearer from the shafts of the foe until Fate decreed that his last hour had come.

Hephæstus fashioned the shield of brass, silver, tin

and gold. Delicate and ingenious designs were embossed on its face representing the constellations of the zodiac, a little town surrounded by pastoral scenes, and other characteristic embellishments wrought with consummate skill. After the greaves, helmet and breastplate had been completed, Thetis took the armor to Achilles herself, and recommended him to become reconciled to Agamemnon before going again to battle.

Reconciliation of Agamemnon and Achilles.

Achilles, with the impetuosity of his nature, acted on the advice of Thetis without delay. Shouting to the chieftains whose tents and ships he passed to follow him, he repaired to the pavilion of Agamemnon. The captains eagerly collected, anxious to learn the designs of Achilles. Impatient to avenge the death of Patroclus, he made overtures of peace to the king of men. Agamemnon admitted in turn that he had erred in his conduct towards Achilles; but claimed as a palliating circumstance that he had been influenced by the dark counsels of Fate and Discord. He accepted the friendly advances of Achilles, and also tendered as indemnity costly gifts; what was more important than his other concessions, Agamemnon restored Briseis to her lord, swearing a royal oath that her chastity was as inviolate as when he had wrested her from him.

After the reconciliation, Achilles urged an immediate attack on the Trojans, but Odysseus, by serious expostulation, prevailed on him to postpone the advance until the troops could recover from the exhaustion of the recent battle.

Polydamus, one of the most prudent of the Trojan leaders, also counselled Hector to retire within the walls, as it was scarcely probable the Trojans, inferior in numbers, weakened in body and spirit, and dreading the

return of Achilles to the field of action, would be able to resist his onset. Thus might they obtain some much needed repose. But Hector, confident in his resources, unwisely concluded to defer the final arbitrament of Fate no longer; but to bring the war to a conclusion without further delay.

Hector resolves to risk the fate of Troy on the plains.

After attiring himself in the celestial suit of armor which Thetis had brought him, Achilles mounted his chariot, which was drawn by the span of supernatural horses named Balius and Xanthus. But before Automedon, the charioteer, gave the starting signal, Xanthus bending his long neck until the mane swept the ground, uttered this portentous prediction. Not by their fault, said the inspired courser, was Patroclus slain. Fate, inexorable and inevitable, was alone responsible. And Fate it was who from his mouth now decreed that Achilles himself must die ere long, and descend to the shades below.

Prophecy of Xanthus, the horse of Achilles.

Undaunted by this prodigy the resolute hero led the van of the Greek host, as he eagerly dashed onward to avenge his friend, and with victory in his grasp to meet his doom. He was irresistible, for he was the impersonation of Fate. His first onset clove the Trojan army in twain. Their right wing was driven into the Scamander, and thousands perished; the genii of the Scamander and the Simois came to the succor of the Trojans, and overflowing their banks well nigh swept Achilles away in their foaming embrace. Avoiding the extreme peril that at one time threatened his existence, the son of Peleus then attacked the remainder of the Trojan forces. Panic-stricken, and heedless of the frantic appeals of Hector, they poured into the city through the Skaian gate, like sheep before

Combat of Hector and Achilles.

a ravening wolf. Hector, scorning to seek a refuge, remained alone without the walls in his brazen chariot. Leaning pensively on his spear, he calmly awaited the approach of Achilles, who claimed the exclusive right of avenging the death of Patroclus on the great Hector.

Meeting of the champions of Greece and Troy.

There was yet time for Hector to avoid the conflict with honor. He might still have found refuge in Troy and there defended the city against the enemy's assaults until reinforcements arrived. Every consideration of prudence warned Hector to retire. His aged father Priam and his mother Hecuba borne down by the weight of sorrows, leaned over the battlements above him, and besought their son in the most moving accents not to risk his own life and the existence of Troy and all who were dear to him on the uncertain result of a personal conflict with a ruthless champion now fresh in the field and thirsting for his blood. Andromache, happily, was not there; ignorant of the tremendous crisis at hand, she was busy with her maidens at home, affectionately preparing the bath for her husband when he should return weary from battle. It was a spectacle pathetic beyond language to describe. Nearly unmanned by the entreaties and lamentations of his friends, Hector was half inclined to follow their advice. But a chivalrous sense of honor bade him shrink from even the appearance of retiring through fear rather than prudence before the advance of Achilles.

While Hector was thus revolving in his mind what action to take, Zeus, the universal arbiter, decided that the hour had come when the doom of Hector and of Troy must be decided. His decision was adverse to the Trojans. And then Achilles, burning to avenge the death of Patroclus, flew towards Hector to whom nothing was now left but to fight.

Hector flies before Achilles.

Then strange anguish seized the great soul of the hero. Mastered apparently by the thought of the possibilities which depended upon the result of the combat, Hector turned his steeds and fled. Achilles gave chase in his chariot. Long was the race over the plain, through gullies and by river banks, until pursuer and pursued again reached the space before the Skaian gate. But none came to the rescue; the noble Hector was left alone to his fate; the gods were against him, hardest fate of all! Why do the gods who give life to man, and render him helpless without their aid, make his doom more terrible by turning against him! There is the unanswered problem of existence!

The fate of Hector.

And here at last Hector made his stand, wheeled his team and awaited the inevitable conflict. When the combatants were opposite to each other, Hector said, "Let us, O Achilles, exchange oaths before we fight, pledging ourselves that if you fall I restore your body to the Greeks; but if I am slain, you allow my father to possess my body and give it funeral rites."

Colloquy of the combatants.

But Achilles fiercely responded, "I make no compact with such as you, save the compact that lions make with hares, that wolves make with lambs; I make no compact except to throw your carcass to the vultures and the jackals, and here is the spear that makes good my words!"

So speaking, Achilles raised the missile, ten cubits in length, and hurled it at the head of Hector. But the Trojan stooped low as it whizzed by and escaped harm. Then he in turn raised himself to his full height and cast his spear at the buckler of Achilles. Only the celestial temper of the shield saved the Greek from a

fatal blow. Hector instantly drew his sword and rushed on his foe. But Pallas, the protector of the Greeks, came to the aid of Achilles and brought him a fresh spear, at this critical moment. Then Hector knew that he was forsaken by the gods. When his foe had come within striking distance, Achilles moved by the aid of the supernal powers, raised the spear, and through a joint in the armor, drove it into the neck of Hector who was borne down by the shock and pinned to the earth.

As the blood gurgled from his mouth, Hector gasped, "Hearken to the prayer of a dying man, and restore my body to my father to perform the funeral rites for my peace."

But Achilles roared, "Not all the entreaties of Priam and his old wife, not all the treasures of Troy, shall avail to buy one funeral rite for you, who have sent so many souls of Greeks to the shades of Hades. But dogs shall devour your flesh, and pick your bones!"

"Be it as you will; but know, O Achilles, that your hour is at hand; Paris and Apollo shall send your soul to wander a melancholy shade on the Stygian shore." So saying the great Hector closed his eyes in death. While the corpse of his redoubtable enemy was yet warm, Achilles bored the ankles of his victim and passed the hide reins of Hector's horses through the ghastly wounds. After fastening the thongs to his chariot, he lashed his steeds and shamefully dragged the body thrice around the walls of Troy.* The battlements of the city rang with the despair of the people and the agonizing lamenta-

Death of Hector.

* Virgil Æn. According to Homer, he dragged Hector directly to the camp.

tions of Hector's kinsfolk. Andromache heard the din and came forth from her apartments, surmising but too well what had befallen her. From the walls she beheld her beloved spouse dead at the chariot wheels of Achilles, and fell back into the arms of her hand-maidens in a swoon.

For three days hostilities ceased; Achilles was celebrating the impressive funeral rites over the body of Patroclus, whose ghost had solemnly appeared to Achilles in the night and in affecting terms besought that the ceremonies might no longer be deferred, and that his ashes might be inurned with those of Achilles. Woodcutters were detailed from the army by Agamemnon to bring wood from Mount Ida for the funeral pile. The logs were placed with regularity, and a trench was dug around the pyre. An hundred horses were slain and laid in the trench, and twelve Trojan captives were also slaughtered for the same purpose. On the top of the pyre they laid the body of Patroclus. Fat was poured over the whole to increase the fury of the flames. Achilles then cut off locks of his own hair and placed them on the hands of the dead man, offering a libation at the same time. After this the torch was applied. Boreas and Zephyr encouraged the flames by favorable blasts, and ere night the pile was consumed. On the morrow the ashes of Patroclus were collected and placed in a golden urn.

Funeral of Patroclus.

A lofty mound was erected over the scene of the cremation, to commemorate the hero, and the third day was dedicated to games in his honor. The Greek chieftains were invited to compete for the prizes offered for boxing, casting of the spear, wrestling, archery, quoit-tossing and chariot and foot races. Towards the close of the games Agamemnon came

forward and offered to enter the competitive lists. But Achilles recognizing, notwithstanding his own haughty disposition, the superior authority of Agamemnon as general of the expedition, would not suffer him to compete. But with great urbanity presented the first prize to the King of men, delicately assuming that as one worthy to occupy so lofty a station he was naturally capable of carrying off the prize from all others. This is one of the finest touches of character in the Iliad, and shows the high breeding of rank.

After the manes of Patroclus had been pacified by these elaborate ceremonies, the Greeks retired to slumber. But Achilles could not sleep. Sorrow maddened his senses and urged him to new deeds of violence in order to avenge the loss of his friend Patroclus. The corpse of Hector during this interval had been lying neglected and exposed to the corroding attacks of the elements. But Apollo had tenderly watched over and preserved the remains of the God-like hero from corruption.

Rising from his restless couch at dead of night, Achilles seized the body of Hector and dragged it thrice with savage fury around the tumulus of Patroclus.* This disgraceful deed having been repeated for several days, at length aroused grave discussion among the gods of Olympus. Some, hating the Trojans, approved it; others condemned it. But the opinions of Apollo prevailed. Moved by his earnest expostulation, Zeus despatched Iris to Thetis commanding her to inform Achilles that this inane cruelty to the body of Hector must cease, and that he must not refuse to restore it to the Trojans. With this purpose in view Iris also entered the

*Iliad.

palace of Priam, where he and his family were gathered indulging in their mourning for Hector. Iris exhorted Priam to lay aside his grief and go forth to the tent of Achilles, taking with him a suitable ransom. This was on the twelfth day after the death of Hector.

It was a most hazardous undertaking to venture into the power of his implacable foe. Hecuba employed every means to dissuade Priam from asking the body of Hector in person. But Priam's resolution was unshaken; he was confident that the soul of Achilles was not altogether destitute of mercy and justice, and that since heaven prompted him to go as a pious duty to his much loved son heaven also would protect him on his sacred mission.

Priam seeks to obtain the body of Hector.

From the ample treasures gathered during a long reign in coffers of cypress wood, Priam chose twelve carpets of cunning handiwork, gorgeously variegated in color, and the same number respectively of vests, tunics and veils massively embroidered. To these he added a pair of tripods, four golden dishes, ten talents of the same precious metal, and a golden bowl which he highly prized as given him in youth when on an embassy to Thrace. Altogether a ransom of enormous value. These gifts were carefully laid in the chariot drawn by mules. Accompanied only by Idæus, his aged herald, Priam rode forth to the Greek camp. The flight of an eagle on the right, a favorable omen, encouraged the monarch to proceed. On the way he encountered Hermes in the form of a youth. The friendly god steeped the enemy in sleep, and guiding the Trojan king through the darkness into the Greek lines, conducted him safely to the tent of Pelides.

Priam arrives at the Greek camp.

Achilles was at his meal when Priam entered. Tot-

tering with the decrepitude of age and the exhaustion of grief, and stooping to the ground as a suppliant, Priam clasped the knees of his redoubtable foe. Achilles gazed at the venerable monarch with amazement, and expressed his surprise at the courage which had induced him to brave such perils. He looked with wonder to see one who was born to reign condescending to sue for a boon from his greatest enemy, and bathing those hands with tears which had so often been imbrued in the blood of his sons.

Priam appealed to all that was best in the nature of Achilles. He reminded him of his aged father Peleus, in Phthiotis, and besought him by the memory of that father whom he loved to have mercy on his years and sorrows, and hearken to his prayers for the body of Hector. Arrogant and ferocious when enraged, Achilles was yet capable of tender emotions, and the speech of the old king touched his heart. Taking Priam by the hand he led him to a seat, promising that he should have the body of Hector on the morrow.

Overcome by conflicting passions, Achilles then left the tent, and ordered attendants to lave the corpse of Hector; they anointed it with sweet-scented oil, and laid it on a couch. But when night descended and sleep closed the eyelids of gods and men, Hermes came to Priam and gently chided him for sleeping amid such imminent dangers. He bade him arise without delay, and to depart with Idæus and the body of Hector, for if Agamemnon and the other Greeks were to learn of his presence in the camp his life might pay the sacrifice. So saying, Hermes harnessed the mules to the chariot, and accompanying the king until he was safely beyond the enemy's lines returned to Olympus.

As the slow-moving chariot came in sight of the city,

multitudes poured through the Skaian Gate, foremost among them Hecuba and Andromache. So dense was the throng that the course of the mules was impeded until Priam stood up in the chariot and ordered a passage to be opened. The corpse was borne to the palace and laid on a couch of state. Mourners stood around it, and hymned elegiac strains reciting the deeds of the fallen hero, and the desolate state of Troy, bereft of her strongest bulwark.

Funeral obsequies of Hector.

Hecuba and Andromache mingled their tears over the marble brow, clasping his head in their hands, and giving utterance to the most pathetic lamentations. Helen also was among the mourners, and as she stood by the inanimate body of Hector she bewailed him in accents whose dignity and pathos has never been surpassed.

"O Hector, thou wert dearest to my heart
Of all my husband's brothers—for the wife
Am I of godlike Paris, him whose fleet
Brought me to Troy,—would I had sooner died,
And now the twentieth year is past since first
I came a stranger from my native shore,
Yet have I never heard from thee a word
Of anger or reproach. And when the sons
Of Priam and his daughters, and the wives
Of Priam's sons in all their fair array,
Taunted me grievously, or Hecuba
Herself,—for Priam ever was to me
A gracious father,—thou didst take my part
With kindly admonitions, and restrain
Their tongues with soft address and gentle words.
Therefore my heart is grieved, and I bewail
Thee and myself at once—unhappy me!
For now I have no friend in all wide Troy,—
None to be kind to me,—they hate me all."*

* Bryant's Transl.

Thus Helen lamented for Hector, but alas, no tears, no repentance, now, could recall him from the dark, Plutonian realm to which his mighty soul had gone.

A truce of eleven days had been granted by Achilles for performing the funeral honors for Hector. During nine days the wood-cutters were engaged in hewing and drawing wood, of which a lofty pile was made before the Skaian Gate. Upon this pyre Hector was carefully placed as on a couch. On the tenth day all the people of Troy poured through the gates to offer the last tokens of honor to their hero.

Priam applied the torch on the following morning, the smouldering embers were quenched with copious wine, and the ashes of Hector were deposited in a golden urn. Purple drapery was wrapped around the vase, which was then covered with a lofty mound. When all was over King Priam with Hecuba and Andromache slowly and sadly led the sorrowing multitude back to Troy.

CHAPTER VIII.

FALL OF ACHILLES.

IT would naturally be supposed that the forebodings of the Trojans would have been verified immediately after the burial of Hector and the resumption of hostilities. Achilles was flushed with victory, the Greeks were elated with unexpected successes, and the Trojans, deprived of the only champion who could make head against the invaders, were correspondingly depressed.

And yet the decision of the contest was deferred for several months longer, owing to a most sudden and unexpected event, — the death of Achilles. There are two wholly contradictory accounts of this event. According to one account * Achilles had surprised Hecuba, accompanied by a number of Trojan women, including her daughters, who were performing a sacred ceremony at a shrine of Apollo without the city. The religious duty in which they were engaged protected them from his violence. But he became so enamored of the beauty of Polyxena, the daughter of Priam, that he even offered to abandon the cause of the Greeks if her father would grant her to him in marriage. Priam having consented, the parties met at the temple of the Thymbræan Apollo to celebrate the nuptials. But Paris had concealed himself there and slew Achilles with an arrow directed by his unerring aim.

Events immediately succeeding the death of Hector.

The death of Achilles according to Dares Phrygius.

* Dares Phrygius, Dictis Cretensis, and the Scholiast ad Lycophron.

There is another version of this event by Arctinus, which accords with the Homeric prophecy,* and we shall therefore accept it in these pages as more consistent with the tenor of the Trojan legend.

Version of Arctinus regarding the fate of Achilles.

During the time devoted to the burial of Patroclus and Hector, the allies of Troy had been hastening forward fresh reinforcements for the beleagured city. Chief among these was Memnon, King of the Ethiopians. The distance which he had marched with his troops affords an excellent illustration of the importance attached to the pending struggle, and the wide-spread influence of the dynasty established by Laomedon and strengthened by Priam. Penthesilea, daughter of Ares, also brought with her an army of heroic Amazons from the distant banks of the Thermodon.

Arrival of Memnon and Penthesilea.

From the scanty accounts of the movements of these allies, we gather that they either encamped in the part of Troy lying at the foot of the Pergamus or on the plain immediately in front of it. At any rate, they were not permitted long to lie idle. Memnon, the son of Eos, and possessed of extraordinary beauty, led his Ethiopian army against the Greeks, producing great slaughter among them, including Antilochus, who died defending his father, Nestor.† Memnon was at last defeated and killed by Achilles, after a doubtful conflict, and only when the prayers of Thetis had prevailed with Zeus. But Eos,‡ in turn, obtained the gift of immortality for Memnon, who was buried near the Propontis. Annually the song birds gathered there and watered his tomb with water from Esepus' river.

Death of Memnon.

The contest with the Amazons seems to have been

* Iliad XXII., v. 361. † Odyss. ‡ Quintus Smyrn., Pausan.

severe and not easily decided. Achilles found a worthy foe in their queen, who gave him a hard struggle. But when, after great exploits on her part, he had at last slain the heroine,* the son of Peleus was smitten with such admiration for her prowess and beauty that he urged the Greeks to give her royal burial and a funeral mound.

Thersites meets his fate.

The proposal was not received with the enthusiasm Achilles expected. Thersites, who has already appeared in an unfavorable light in this narrative, threw derision on the hero's lamentations for Penthesilea, and dared to employ the basest wit at the expense of Pelides. The latter, justly infuriated, felled Thersites to the ground with a fatal blow. But the jester, who thus met his death, was kin to Diomedes, who was therefore bound to show his resentment. Accordingly he dragged the body of Penthesilea out of the camp and hurled it into the Scamander.† Nor was Diomedes content even thus to condone the death of his kinsman by this insult to Achilles. He raised such a clamor in the Greek camp, that the chieftains obliged Achilles to go to Lesbos in expiation. There he was purified of the homicide by Odysseus. One is astonished that the high spirit of Pelides should have brooked such rebuke for an act for which he had some justification.

Rendered incautious at last by his long and uniformly successful career, Achilles boasted of his exploits in a manner offensive to the gods, especially Apollo,‡ who abandoned him to his doom. As they were greatly reduced by the loss of their allies, the Trojans were

* According to Dares Phrygius, she was slain by Neoptolemus.

† Dictys Creten. ‡ Aethiop., Dictys Creten.

easily put to flight when Achilles again took the field. Giving the lash to his supernal steeds, Pelides chased the Trojans up to the Skaian Gate, and was actually entering the city with the fugitives. But Paris, who excelled in archery, saw his opportunity had come. Selecting a broad arrow, he let fly at the bared heel * of the Greek champion. Sent with unerring aim the dart clove the powerful tendon in twain which supported him in an upright position. Falling back helpless to the ground he was instantly despatched by the spear of Paris, who dragged the body of the redoubtable Achilles to the citadel.†

Fall of Achilles at the Skaian Gate.

It is difficult to imagine the revulsion of feeling which must have swept over the hearts of the Trojans when they gazed on the stark corpse of the greatest enemy of Troy. What wounds he had inflicted on her bosom! how had her life rested, as it were, in his grasp! But now Hector was avenged and the destiny of Troy seemed indefinitely prolonged. In the whole range of historic and fictitious literature there are no events more dramatic than the death of Hector and the death of Achilles as he clutched the prize in the Skaian Gate.

The Trojans would not restore the body of Achilles to the Greeks until the latter returned the ransom which Priam had paid for the body of Hector.‡ The extraordinary value placed on these treasures and those taken by Paris from Lacedæmon is a convincing proof of the rarity of skilled workmanship in metals in that age. Solemn funeral rites were performed in honor of Achilles and his ashes were deposited in the same golden urn which contained the ashes of his beloved friend Patroclus.

* Hygien. Fab. † Dares Phryg. ‡ Schol. on Lycophron.

Last honors to Achilles.

A lofty mound was erected in memory of these heroic friends which stands to this day on the Sigeian promontory. By the command of Thetis, the divine mother of Achilles, magnificent games were celebrated around the tomb. The leading prize was the celestial panoply of the dead hero. The rivals for this superb treasure were Ajax and Odysseus,* who represented respectively the physical and intellectual elements which alternately held sway in the war. The decision of the award was reached in a manner so characteristic of Odysseus that it almost suggests the hand of that wily chieftain.

Athené, it is said, asked some Trojan captives which of the aspirants, Ajax or Odysseus, had wrought most harm to their country. They replied the latter. To him, therefore, the matchless prize was awarded. The heroic Ajax, depressed by his ill success in the games at the funeral of Patroclus, and modestly conscious of his genuine merit, was overwhelmed with mortification at this new and undeserved reverse. He lost his senses, and in his rage against Odysseus and the Atridæ, who were suspected of collusion with his rival, slaughtered their sheep. He imagined, poor man, that he was killing his enemies instead of their flocks.

When he recovered from his frenzy, Ajax was so humiliated that he fell on his sword. It is a singular coincidence that he slew himself with the very sword of Hector, while the latter, according to one account, was dragged behind the chariot of Achilles by the baldric he had received from Ajax. From the blood of Ajax's wound sprung the red hyacinth.† A mound was erected

* Ovid Metam, Æthiopi, Soph., etc.

† Perhaps the *Lilium Martagum*.

to him on the Rhœtium Promontory which may be seen at the present day from passing ships. The legend of Ajax made a profound impression on the Hellenic mind. It was described in detail in Pindar, the Æthiopis, Dictys Cretensis, Ovid and other authorities. Sophocles also made it the subject of a powerful tragedy.

The games ordained by Thetis at the tomb of Achilles were sanctioned and made annual by the oracle of Dodona and were observed for many ages after Troy had vanished from the earth. After the fall of Troy the ghost of Achilles appeared on the mound and demanded the expiatory sacrifice of Polyxena, and she was slain by his son Neoptolemus. * The Thessalians also erected a temple on the Sigæan Point in later ages, where a black and white bull were annually sacrificed to his memory.

By a curious and altogether unforeseen turn of events, the two armies now held relatively about the same position as at the beginning of the siege. Each had lost the champion upon whom it depended for success. While many prominent chieftains had survived the bloody battles, there was none so prominent in prowess above all others as to give cause for hope that the contest might be decided by him. Both parties were forced to watch and wait for some unexpected circumstance to give them a guiding clue to success.

Position of affairs after the fall of Achilles.

When physical force has done its best towards gaining the desired end and has failed, then is the occasion for the mind to show its superiority over mere *physique*. Achilles had missed of the capture of Troy; Hector had been foiled in his attempt to destroy the invaders. Then Odysseus, who after the death of Palamedes,

*Ovid, Met., Eurip. Hec., Senec. Troad, etc.

typified the intellectual element of the Trojan war, found his opportunity. It was craft or ingenuity rather than force which finally decided the contest of ten years.

Odysseus and Helenus, the priest and son of Priam, were instrumental in giving a new turn to the course of affairs. Odysseus entrapped Helenus, it is said, who, on compulsion made certain dangerous revelations. But there are two versions of the manner in which this was accomplished. One account says Helenus was so enraged because Helen was not given to him in marriage after the death of Paris that he retired to Mount Ida, where Odysseus succeeded in finding and taking him to the Greek camp.*

Helenus betrays the cause of Troy.

But it is universally agreed that Paris fell by the arrows of Philoctetes who was recalled to the camp at the instance of Helenus, who must therefore have been made captive before the death of Paris.

Thus we prefer the other account which records that after the death of Achilles, Helenus was captured by Odysseus, when he was on the way to sacrifice at a temple of Ceres,† or by some other characteristic stratagem of the astute Ithacan. Helenus divulged that Troy could only be taken by recalling Philoctetes from Lemnos and by the rape of the Palladium which was the final safeguard of Troy.

Philoctetes was a Thessalian chieftain who had inherited the arrows of Hercules,‡ without which, it had been predicted from the outset, Troy could not be captured. He accompanied the expedition to Troy, but was bitten in the foot by a serpent sent by Heré, because he had lit the funeral pyre of Hercules.§ But why and where the hurt was given

Legend about Philoctetes.

*Virgil Æn. † Soph. Philoct. ‡ Apollodorus. § Hygien.

him is very variously stated. This much is certain, the wound became so offensive and the cries of Philoctetes were so disheartening that he was sent to Lemnos, where he lingered nearly ten years, until the prediction of Helenus was made known. He was then brought back to the Troad, and healed by Machaon, the surgeon of the Greek army.

Not long after this a combat ensued, during which Philoctetes was enabled to give Paris a mortal wound with one of the arrows of Hercules.* Borne bleeding from the field and conscious that his hurt was fatal, Paris remembered what Œnone had predicted, and the promise she had made to heal him if he would return to her when the fatal crisis arrived. Death of Paris.

By his order Paris was carried to the heights of Mount Ida, by his attendants.† He was like one who, after surfeiting his soul with material pleasures, turns for relief to the guidance of the pure spirit of his early years, whom he has forsaken, and perhaps may never find again.

The bearers found Œnone in the old haunts, and told her that Paris had returned to Mount Ida to obtain her promised aid, for he was sorely wounded. But the recollection of the infidelity and neglect of Paris conflicted in the most natural manner with the love Œnone still bore him and caused her to hesitate. But when she repented of her harshness and, urged by love, at last hastened to his relief, she found him dead. Sorrow and remorse broke her heart, and when the last rites were performed to Fate of Œnone.

* Proclus and others say Paris was slain on the battle-field.

† Quint. Smyrn.

his remains on the mountain, Œnone mounted the funeral pile and perished with the love of her youth.

Thus the Greeks had overcome another of the barriers that kept them out of Troy; for the general drift of the legend shows that notwithstanding his selfishness and effeminacy Paris was a brave and successful soldier. After his death Helen was given to Deiphobus, the brother of Paris, in marriage. He is spoken of in the legend as a brave chieftain, although inferior in salient traits to Hector and Paris.

Helen given to Deiphobus in marriage.

On the authority of some at this juncture Odysseus went to Scyros and brought from there Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles. It was hoped he might exhibit his father's qualities. Odysseus generously gave him the armor of Achilles, and Neoptolemus was found worthy to wear it. He was scarcely less courageous and successful than Achilles, but of a more humane and moderate temper. He defeated and slew Eurypylus, who brought allies from Troy and did some noble fighting after the fall of Hector and Achilles.* But in spite of all efforts, the Palladium yet remained an obstacle which taxed the sharpest wits of the Greek army. The legends regarding the origin and character of the Palladium were innumerable. The most common version states that it was a statue of Pallas which fell on the Troad from the skies. Ilus built a temple in the citadel of Troy expressly for this tutelary image, which became henceforth the guardian of the destinies of Troy.† In order to insure the revered statue from being stolen by force or treachery, a number of replicas of the original were made and distributed in the different temples of Troy, but the true

* Odyss., Iliad Minor, Pausan. † Apollod.

Palladium was smaller than the copies. The Greeks learned these facts from Helenus, and after the death of Paris devised measures to steal the sacred talisman of Ilium.

But if Helenus had in a moment of weakness confided thus much regarding the Palladium, he could not be induced to divulge in what temple it was deposited. In this perplexity there was one in the Greek camp who, never over-confident nor exultant in time of success, was on the other hand not greatly depressed in adversity. Shrewd, crafty, prudent, brave but not rash, not over-scrupulous, steadfast in friendship or in hate, was Odysseus, the son of Laertes.

Schemes for discovering the Palladium.

While his comrades in arms were passing the winter months hoping for events to turn in their favor, he, not a whit less anxious than they to return to his island realm and his wife Penelope, was busy devising a scheme for the capture of Troy. Bringing his profound knowledge of human nature to his aid, Odysseus originated a plan of obtaining from Helen herself the requisite information regarding the true Palladium. In the absence of full detail concerning this adventure we are permitted to surmise this much. He assumed perhaps that after the death of Paris the last tie would be loosed that kept her in Troy; it was impossible for her to care for Deiphobus; while maternal love would lead her to desire to see her daughter Hermione once more; she would also gladly embrace any overture from the Greeks which would enable her to efface the memory of her past misdeeds and obtain immunity in the future by delivering Troy into their hands.

Odysseus schemes to seize the Palladium.

Obtaining the consent of Agamemnon, the son of

Laertes stole out of the camp in squalid raiment; his back and shoulders were raw with self-inflicted wounds. On reaching the Skaian gate, Odysseus craved admittance on the plea that he was a slave who had been maltreated by his Greek master and sought refuge in Troy. The man's appearance seemed to confirm his story, and he was permitted to enter the city. Beggar-like, he idled away the day in sheltered corners.

Odysseus enters Troy in disguise.

At nightfall Odysseus slept near the palace, and waited for Helen to go by on the morrow. When she went to her orisons,* she discovered the mendicant lying by the roadside, and started with astonishment. He saw that she recognized him, and putting his finger over his lips enjoined silence. It must have been with extraordinary emotion that Helen saw Odysseus there. To him she owed both the husband she had forsaken and the compact which had brought the Greeks to Troy.

Helen passed Odysseus without seeming further to notice him. But when all was quiet, after nightfall, a maid touched Odysseus on the shoulder and bade him follow. She led him to the apartments of Helen. For more than twenty long years the Queen of Lacedæmon had not spoken to one of her countrymen. Her joy may now be conceived. She herself offered him wine and aided her damsel to lave his hands and feet over a ewer and anoint his wearied limbs.

Helen shelters Odysseus in Troy.

After satisfying himself of the anxiety of Helen to return to Greece, and extracting from her a solemn oath of secrecy, Odysseus unfolded to her his plan for taking the city. Helen in turn offered him valuable information regarding the

* Odyss.

Palladium and the movements of the Trojans. Having succeeded so well in the object which had taken him there, Odysseus made his escape and returned to the Greek camp.*

Various accounts are given of the capture of the Palladium. The most plausible states that Odysseus associated with him in this arduous enterprise Diomedes, one of the wiliest, coolest and most courageous of the Hellenic chieftains. After scaling the outer walls they reached the Pergamus.† Diomedes climbed to the battlements on the shoulders of Odysseus, but refused to draw him up, although reaching out his hands; thus Diomedes threaded the city alone in search of the sacred talisman. Having out of several images selected the genuine one, Diomedes returned to Odysseus. The latter inquired into the details and Diomedes, knowing well the character of the man, replied that he had not succeeded in getting the image designated by Helenus but another.

Diomedes and Odysseus steal the Palladium.

Odysseus, on the other hand suspected Diomedes of equivocating; he therefore watched the image and observed that it moved its head. This was positive evidence that it was the true Palladium, and Odysseus at once determined to get possession of it before they reached the camp. No one was better entitled to it than he, for he it was who had ventured his life alone into Troy to obtain requisite information on the subject. But destiny often plays such tricks, allowing one to plough and sow the seed in the sweat of his brow, while another steps in and steals the harvest he had rightfully earned. This dispute is also a singular proof that in that age even the

Diomedes and Odysseus contest possession of the Palladium.

* Odyss. † Conon.

capture of an object having rare and national importance entailed its possession to the captor.

With characteristic unscrupulousness, Odysseus stole behind Diomedes in the dark, and was about to give him a deadly thrust in the back, when Tydides saw the flash of the blade. Eluding the blow, he forced Odysseus to walk before him, and in this order the two chieftains carried the Palladium into the Greek camp. Hence the proverb, "Diomedean necessity."*

The subsequent history of the Palladium of Troy is important. So veracious a historian as Pausanias records that Diomedes took it with him on his return to Greece. Off the coast of Attica his retainers, mistaking it for a hostile country, ravaged the neighborhood. Demophoon, who ruled there, came out against the invaders and deprived them of the Palladium, which remained for many ages on the Acropolis at Athens. But the Romans maintained that Æneas had regained possession of it through the liberality of Diomedes acting under divine dictation. Thus it was taken to Latium and was sacredly guarded in the temple of Vesta at Rome. The last mention made of this sacred and faithful image was probably in the reign of the emperor Heliogabalus, who, according to Herodean, was so impious as to order the tutelary image to be brought to his bedchamber.

Subsequent fate of the Palladium.

* Conon.

CHAPTER IX.

SACK OF TROY.

THE Trojans now had everything to depress them, while the Greeks were inspired by the positive assurance of ultimate success which came from the successive fulfilment of the various portents which were to precede the fall of Troy. It may be observed, however, that the predictions were rather negative than direct. It had not been said that Troy would certainly fall if such and such events were produced. But rather, that until they did occur Troy was safe.

Further effort was therefore essential on the part of the invaders before they could gather the fruit of recent successes. The gods once more frowned on Ilium and gave their aid to Greece. Pallas having allowed her chosen people to obtain her image from Troy now gave them a plan for bringing the war to a close. Like all the later operations of the siege, it depended for its success on strategy.

Pallas suggests a scheme for capturing Troy.

The goddess gave Epeus, the son of Panopeus, the plan of a colossal wooden horse of which he became the fabricator.* The body of the horse was hollow and designed to hold one hundred men. Care was taken that its height should exceed the altitude of the walls of Troy, for a very good reason, as will appear in the sequel. The entrance to the interior was through a scuttle in the top or back of the body

Odysseus, Menelaus, Diomedes, Ajax Oileus, and in a

* Virgil, Æn., Justin, Pausan, etc.

word, several score of the most prominent chieftains of the Greek army devoted themselves to an enterprise so desperate that only a firm belief in the prophetic utterances of the oracles and soothsayers could have induced them to hazard on it the safety both of themselves and the combined host of Greece. They mounted the horse by a ladder, and were enclosed in it with a stock of provisions.

The chieftains enter the wooden horse.

In the meantime the Greeks had also prepared their galleys for sea. Of a thousand keels which had first reached the Troad it is scarcely likely that more than half had survived the exposure to the elements and the attacks of the Trojans for ten years. Uniting their efforts, the invaders soon had the fleet afloat with all the army on board except the chieftains who were in the horse. The tents and booths were burned, and the great armament that for ten years had threatened Ilium vanished like a dream of the night.

The Greeks take the fleet to Tenedos.

At the head of a multitude of his subjects, Priam rode amazed to the lines deserted by the Greeks; he actually passed unharmed where the redoubtable enemies had been encamped, who had slaughtered so many of his sons and subjects and menaced the very existence of Troy. Victory seemed to have crowned such brave and persistent resistance. So the Trojans were permitted to believe before the final stroke came which undeceived them. Thus grandly does the legend typify the extraordinary and mysterious caprice by which man is mocked by the fates. They delude him with false hope, and in the very moment of triumphant exultation hurl him to perdition.

Thus lulled to false ease, Priam was suddenly startled at the appearance of a stupendous wooden pile in the

form of a horse. While conjecturing what could be the purpose of this vast bulk, the Trojans brought to Priam a Greek captive * who had been found by shepherds, concealed among the marsh reeds of the Scamander. He was bound and roughly treated as they dragged him into the presence of the king.

The wooden horse discovered.

Sinon, for such was his name, stated that he had been the object of a peculiar doom. The Greeks had decided to give up the contest and return to Greece. But in order to be favored with a fair wind they were compelled to sacrifice one of their number. The lot had fallen upon him; but after all the ceremonial preparations had been made, and while he was dreading the arrival of the fatal morn, he contrived to loosen his bonds and escape.† Sinon also explained that the wooden horse had been made by the Greeks at the command of Calchas to replace the Palladium, but had been purposely constructed of such a size as to render it impassable through the gates, and thus apparently useless. He advised the Trojans to overcome this difficulty by opening a breach in the walls. Quintus Smyrnæus states that the Trojans tortured Sinon to test the truth of his story. But he adhered to it with heroic courage. The populace from the city now thronged to the beach. Among them was Laocoon, a son of Priam and a priest of Apollo, who denounced the story of Sinon as false. He declared that the horse was to be dreaded as the instrument of some deep-laid and deadly stratagem, adding that the Greeks were to be feared even when bearing gifts.‡ Laocoon emphasized

Capture of Sinon.

Laocoon denounces the story of Sinon.

* Arctinus, Virgil Æn., etc. † Virg. Æn. ‡ Arctinus, Virg. Æn.

his words by hurling a spear against the belly of the horse; a hollow sound like a deep groan came from the smitten wood. But the warning of Laocoon was unheeded. Blinded by the gods, and anxious to relieve their city without delay from future perils by the acceptance of the new Palladium, the Trojans decided that the horse should be admitted at once into Troy. Long cables were attached to the feet of the wooden monster, and the multitude with eager shouts of exultation dragged the monster into Troy through a breach in the walls.

The horse is taken into the city.

But the popular joy was checked by an appalling incident which now occurred. The stars had begun to shine in the western sky, and Laocoon was engaged with his two sons in sacrificing bulls to Neptune. At that moment two serpents of enormous length issued from the sea, emitting flame from their eyes and belching gore from their cavernous throats.* Steadily and rapidly they speeded to Troy, and driving the affrighted multitude before them, sought the shrine where Laocoon was officiating. They were sent by Pallas to avenge the indignity he had offered to the horse dedicated to her. In obedience to the will of the Goddess the serpents seized the patriotic and ignorantly offending priest and his sons. Enfolding the agonized but impotent victims in the grip of their tremendous folds, the serpents crushed them limb by limb, and left them dead at the foot of the altar.

Fate of Laocoon and his sons.

This remarkable event had the effect of cheering Priam and his people, for it seemed to them an indubitable proof of the sanctity and power of the new Palladium. The first watches of the night were therefore passed in gratulation and riotous festivity.

*Virg. Æn.

Helen sings to the men in the horse.

But there were yet some in Troy who, notwithstanding these prodigies, still feared that some stratagem was concealed in the machine. Deiphobus, the husband of Helen, was among the number of doubters. Helen, who was of a pliable disposition, and was also for obvious reasons liable to suspicion, was forced by Deiphobus to go forth with him at night and personate the wives of the leading chieftains of the Greek army. By mentioning each chieftain by name in pleading tone, as though his wife were calling him, it was thought that if any of these warriors were in the horse, one or another might on the impulse of the moment reply, and thus betray the fatal secret. Such came very nearly being the fact. But Odysseus laid his hand on the mouth of the speaker, and forcibly maintained a death-like silence.* It is a noteworthy circumstance that when alluding in after years to the questionable conduct of Helen on this occasion, Menelaus had the magnanimity to concede that she was under the pressure of circumstances beyond her control.† If only the gods would relieve us all from accountability on such easy terms!

The warriors descend from the horse.

At dead of night, the people of Troy were hushed in slumber, exhausted by the reaction of alternate hopes and fears, or torpid with the wine of festivity, and secure in the fancied safety of the city. Then Sinon drew the bolts and the warriors in the horse emerged from their prison and lowered themselves to the ground. The citadel and the palace of Priam were of course the first objects to be attacked. But the handful of the enemy now in the city were liable to be overwhelmed if the garrison should

* Odyss. † Odyss.

be aroused before the fall of the Pergamus. It was part of the design for the night's campaign that the Greek fleet should leave Tenedos at nightfall. The distance across the strait was only three miles; the march from the beach was about the same distance.

The Greek army enters Troy.

Sinon, after releasing the chieftains, kindled a fire on the shore to inform the Greeks that the time for action had come. Everything favored the plans of the invaders. When the assault once began destruction rapidly followed. Fire and slaughter swept over the doomed city. It is with profound sorrow that we contemplate the fate of Troy. It is never a pleasant sight to behold long and heroic resistance to adverse destiny receiving no higher reward at last than despair and perdition.

Aroused by the din and glare of a conflict which they knew indicated the fall of Troy, Priam and his aged spouse Hecuba fled through a secret passage to the temple of Zeus Hyrcæus, hoping to find protection at the foot of the altar. There with their offspring and subjects the king and queen awaited the inevitable hour of ruin, as it proved, while the air was rent with groans and shrieks;—no mercy for the men, and bondage in other lands for the women!

Priam was beheaded on the very altar steps by Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, but Hecuba was spared to be a slave to foreign foes.* Too old to mitigate her fate by being again a wife or even a concubine, her husband and her family murdered before her eyes, the fate of Hecuba was indeed indescribably cruel. Astyanax, the infant son of Hector, was torn from the arms of Andromache,

Fate of Priam, Hecuba, Astyanax, &c.

* Eurip. Troades.

and hurled from the battlements. But she was permitted to bury him in the shield of his father.*

Many are the horrors related of that terrible night by the poets, especially Arctinus and Lesches. Not without some resistance, however, did the Trojans yield up their city. Æneas† and Antenor offered a substantial check to the enemy until able to collect a few family relics and household gods from the general wreck. Then they made good their escape into the country. It is alleged by the Greeks, who for some unknown cause favored Antenor, that he had been forewarned of the assault, and escaped attack by a concerted sign, a pelt hung over his door.‡

Last end of Troy.

When the gray light of dawn appeared, unsightly heaps of ashes, and smouldering embers, intermingled with calcined bones, and piles of blackened ruins, and lurid volumes of smoke rolling up to the skies, alone remained to indicate where Troy had been. A city and a nation had passed out of existence.

* Eurip. Troades. † Virg. Æn.

‡ Polygnotus so represented this fact in his famous paintings in the Leschæ at Delphi, described by Pausanias.

CHAPTER X.

DESTINY OF THE VICTORS.

FOR ten years the watchman with keen eyes had maintained unremitting vigilance from the roof of the palace of Agamemnon at Mycenæ. A line of beacon fires had been concerted when the Greeks sailed for Troy, which were to flash the news of victory across the Egean. Year after year went by and the watch-fires remained unlighted. But on a certain night when patience seemed to have exhausted itself, a light suddenly smote the eyes of the watchman of Mycenæ, bursting forth like a star on the height he had gazed upon for so many weary years in vain. Could it be? yes, it was indeed the flame so long expected on the crest of Mt. Arachnæus. Troy had fallen.

The beacon fires announce the fall of Troy.

A vast pile of timber was kindled by the victorious Greeks on the summit of Mount Ida. The watchman on the ridge of Lemnos hastened to flash the tidings to Mount Athos. There the watchman took up the eager tale and sped it in letters of fire written against the skies to the crags of Eubœa. And thus from peak to peak the tidings flew until all who spake the Grecian tongue had learned before dawn that Troy had fallen.*

Arrangement of the beacons.

But the return of the Greek chieftains with the remains of their forces was by no means so expeditious or so fortunate as their waiting families had reason to hope. Nestor† related

Return of the Greeks.

* Æsch. Agamem. † Odyss.

the incidents of his return to Pylos, when young Telemachus visited him in search of his father. The venerable chieftain stated that after the fall of Troy, Agamemnon and part of the Greek army were so oppressed with a consciousness of the atrocities committed at the storming of the city that they urged remaining awhile and appeasing the wrath of the gods with hecatombs. But Menelaus with the rest of the expedition were for returning home without delay. A bitter quarrel was the result. Part remained to sacrifice and part started on what proved for most an ill-starred voyage, which destroyed many who, after twenty years of warfare were after all to die almost in sight of home.

Quarrel of Agamemnon and Menelaus.

It is the old story of life. Life is a struggle in which the few win, and of those too many fall as they touch the goal. Often the causes are too occult for our perception. While scarcely accepting the justice of such laws, yet it is dawning on some now that success or failure depend on certain immutable physical laws. The ancients with the majority of all ages ascribed failure or success to the will or seeming caprice of the higher powers. They did not scruple to apply opprobrious epithets to the divine government of man. Æneas speaks of "cruel Jove." Menelaus, who did not remain at Troy to sacrifice was allowed a reign of peace, but Agamemnon who sacrificed was murdered by a faithless spouse! No chieftain of the expedition was more singularly treated by the gods; he was forced to immolate his daughter, to see his wife an adulteress, to be stripped of his concubine by Apollo and to be himself slaughtered on the eve of his return.

Ancient beliefs regarding destiny.

The Odyssey asserts that the quarrel of Ajax and Odysseus was due to the caprice of the supreme ruler

Zeus. We have sometimes thought that there was a logical instinct which suggested the invention of so many deities representing various and contradictory attributes. It was not such a bad way, when questioning the justice of God's dealings with mortals, to relieve him of the responsibility of some inexplicable deed by referring it to the will of this or that inferior deity. By this ingenious method the faith of the ancient mind was much less severely taxed than that of the men of the present age. But whatever be the causes real or assigned, it is certain that in the mind of the ancients the disasters attending the return of the heroes from Troy formed one of the most essential parts of the legend. It gave rise to a series of epic poems, of which the most important were the Odyssey whose author is unknown, but reputed to be Homer, the Nostos by Agias of Troezen, and a long list of tragedies. We learn from these numerous sources that Idomeneus, king of Crete, went to Troy with ninety ships, where he acquitted himself in a conspicuous manner for general courage and good sense. He is credited with an axiom which should entitle him to the applause of the faculty,—"A physician is worth many men!" *

Return of Idomeneus.

On his return to Crete, Idomeneus encountered a severe storm. In his extremity he vowed to Poseidon that he would sacrifice to the god the first living being that he should meet on landing in Crete. His own son rushed to meet the long absent king and father when he landed. Nevertheless Idomeneus fulfilled his rash vow. But his subjects were so incensed that they arose and forced him to leave his kingdom forever. In this case it is reasonable to infer that the Cretans were enraged less on account of the

Idomeneus sacrifices his son.

* Iliad, XI.

fulfilment of the vow which had become a religious duty than because the king had not preferred losing his life instead of selfishly vowing away the life of another to save his own. Parents who in modern times barter the destiny of their daughters in uncongenial marriage to further their own social interests are far more guilty than Idomeneus. Driven to find an abiding place, the exiled chief sailed westward and founded a colony in southern Italy, called Uria or Salentia, which is represented to-day by Calabria.*

Fate of Ajax Oileus.

Ajax Oileus, king of Locris, went to Troy with forty ships. Unlike Ajax Telamon, he was of small stature. "He was not so large as Telamon but much smaller," quaintly says the Iliad. But he excelled all in casting the spear. Notwithstanding the manifold horrors of the night assault in which the victors indulged with more than usual vindictiveness, yet the conduct of Ajax Oileus was impious beyond that of all, for it is said he offered violence to Cassandra a priestess of Pallas by the very altar of the goddess. The Greeks were so enraged by this daring crime, that they came within a little of stoning Ajax. But if he escaped with his life at that time, the deity treasured up wrath against him and destined him to die before reaching home. Athene borrowed the thunderbolts of Zeus and struck the fleet of Ajax with a tempest. His galley foundered, but he succeeded in swimming to a rock, where, exhibiting his character to the last, he defied the gods.† According to one account Athene smote him dead with a flash of lightning, while another record states that Poseidon swept him off with a huge billow. The crews which escaped were carried to the westward,

* Ovid, Pausan., etc.

† Virg, Æn., Hygin. Fab.

and founded settlements in Libya, and the south of Italy.

Agamemnon was permitted once more to see the towers of Mycenæ rising over the barley fields of the Argolis. He had taken with him Cassandra the prophetess, whose vaticinations were doomed never to be believed. So Apollo decreed when she failed to keep the promise she had made of yielding to his amorous proposals. Now she foretold that death awaited both the king of men and herself on their reaching Mycenæ; but he paid no attention to her prophecy.*

Clytemnæstra, the sister of Helen, a woman of uncurbed will and enduring passions, received her husband with apparent joy after his protracted absence. But at that very time she was engaged in an amour with Ægisthus, the son of Thyestes. The guilty lovers conspired together, and murdered Agamemnon and Cassandra, while he was actually refreshing himself with a bath preparatory to a banquet prepared in honor of his return. Clytemnæstra excused her crime on the ground that the deceit shown by Agamemnon when he stole from her and sacrificed Iphigenia was a sufficient cause for the alienation of her affections; while the introduction of Cassandra into his household was a direct insult to his queen. These reasons are apparently ample palliation for Clytemnæstra, superficially considered. But they lose much of their force when we remember that the first act was one of religious necessity originating in the public good; while the second act was not inconsistent with the domestic customs of the age.

Clytemnæstra and Ægisthus.

With regard to human sacrifices among the Greeks at

* Apoll., Æsch. Agam.

that period, Mr. Gladstone in his "Juventus Mundi" makes an extraordinary statement. "The extremest forms of human depravity are unknown to the practice of the Greeks in the Homeric age. . . . *There are no human sacrifices;* and even down to the time of Euripides the tradition subsisted that they were not a Greek but a foreign usage." In the Homeric legend alone we find four instances in Greek practice. Iphigenia, the twelve Trojans slaughtered at the burial of Patroclus, the intended sacrifice of Sinon, and the son of Idomeneus. As if further to prove that if the custom had been borrowed from Asia like the germs of all religions, it had really become an accepted ceremonial of the Greeks in extreme moments, we have the sacrifice of the daughters of Erectheus, and the remarkable legend of the daughter of Aristodemus, in the first Messenian war. Although historians do not accept the records of that conflict without great reserve, yet the fact remains that it was not considered an impious or impossible circumstance to record or invent that the Delphic oracle had sanctioned the sacrifice of a royal virgin as late as 743 B. C. or about the sixth or seventh olympiad, some six centuries after the fall of Troy. That Euripides should have expressed the sentiment he put in the mouth of Iphigenia may be reasonably considered the result of growing civilization. It is also worthy of note that the same author in his "Electra" approves the deed when required for the public good.

Human sacrifices among the Greeks.

Some years later Clytemnæstra and Ægisthus were slain by Orestes her son, who thus avenged the murder of his father.* But Orestes was in turn persecuted by the Furies for daring

Agamemnon avenged.

* Soph. Electra, Eurip. Orest., Apol.

to slay the mother that bore him. He was only able to find expiation by going to Tauris to sacrifice to Artemis. But Orestes and his friend Pylades were taken captives on that barbarian shore and were about to be sacrificed by a priestess of Artemis. But she, learning that they were from Greece, offered life to the one who would carry a letter to her native land, for she also was a Greek.* In the struggle of friendship which ensued as to which should sacrifice himself for the other, Pylades yielded to Orestes. But when it came out that the letter he was to carry was for Orestes, then indeed a remarkable discovery was made. It seems that Iphigenia was the priestess who had been on the point of slaying her brother. All three returned after this to Mycenæ. It must be confessed that the tale of the house of the Atridæ presents with extraordinary force, but without adequate solution, the tremendous problem of human accountability, which seems to have been as great a mystery in those far-away times of the past as it is to-day.

Iphigenia in Tauris.

Andromache was taken to Phthiotis by Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, and bore him a son. But after his death she was given in marriage by his grandfather Peleus to Helenus, the brother of Hector, who was one of the few male captives spared after the fall of Troy. Peleus sent the pair to Molossus, over which he appointed Helenus king, saying, "The gods still have a care for the Trojans, although by the will of Pallas Troy was overthrown." † Was Pallas regarded as an inexorable fate? Or did Peleus thereby indicate a dim perception of the laws by which races are dispersed to

* Do we find in this incident a hint that the Greeks had writing in those days?

† Eurip. Androm.

crystallize into fresh national types and governments? The vast series of legends recounting the scattering of the Greeks and Trojans after the fall of Troy seem to spring from an attempt to explain the early colonizing along the western shores of the Mediterranean.

Fortunes of Helenus and Andromache.

Antenor, attended by a handful of fugitives, fled to the coast of the stormy Euxine. There they constructed a fleet, in which, gliding down the Hellespont and through the Egean, they navigated up the Adriatic, and established a colony at the mouths of the Eridanus, founding either Padua or Venice.* Æneas, on the other hand, made good his escape to the lower parts of Mysia, with his son Ascanius, and his father Anchises. Creusa his wife, and daughter of Priam, was lost in the night that Troy fell. From the Mysians Æneas obtained several galleys, and after various vicissitudes at Carthage and other parts of the Mediterranean, made a prosperous settlement in Hesperia, near the Tiber. There he married Lavinia, the daughter of King Latinus, and founded the Roman empire.† His fortunes became the subject of one of the five great epic poems of European literature.

Destiny of Antenor and Æneas.

Diomedes led a singular and romantic career after the fall of Ilium. The favorite of Athene, he was pursued by the hatred of Aphrodité, because he had wounded her in the hand during the war. It often happened in those days, and still seems to occur to men now, that the gods abandoned their favorites to their enemies, without any apparent cause. It was thus in the life of the great Diomedes. Pallas allowed him to fall under the power of the vindictive Aphrodité, who

Wanderings of Diomedes.

* Tacit., Virg., etc. † Virg. Æn.

corrupted the heart of his wife Ægiale. When he returned full of rapturous anticipation to his Etolian palace, Diomedes found his wife consoling herself for his absence in the arms of Cyllabarus. Sick at heart, the weary chieftain sailed away to drown his disappointment on distant unknown shores. Steering to the westward, he was cast away on the shores of Libya, whose barbarian king threw him into prison. He eventually escaped thence, however; but not until Callirhoë, the daughter of the king, had become so desperately enamored of him that she slew herself in despair after his flight.

Shipwrecked in Libya.

On the coast of Magna Grecia Diomedes at last found a lodgement for his wandering feet. He founded Beneventum, Argyripo, Diomedea and Daunia, named after the wife he married there, and seems to have established an important dominion. The reign of Diomedes was so beneficent, that his companions were to such a degree affected by his death as to be turned into birds.*

But of all the Princes connected with the Greek expedition against Troy, none had such protracted adventures as Odysseus. His wanderings extended over the wide Mediterranean, for ten years. He gradually lost all his ships and companions tossed to the Lotus lands, to the caves of the Cyclops, by the islands of the Syrens, to the land of the Læstrygonans, to Calypso's isle, to the delicate gardens and grateful hospitality of King Alcinous, through the hazards of Scylla and Charybdis, and the soul-destroying seductions of Circé; and even through the nether glooms of Hades. Not until twenty years had passed, from the time when he left his son Telemachus an infant

Voyages of Odysseus.

* Heyne ad Apollod., Virg., &c.

in the arms of Penelope, did Odysseus once more step foot on his little island kingdom.

He landed in Ithaca privately, sent there by the hospitable King of Phœacia, in a mysterious ship moved by no external motive power. On arriving at Ithaca he learned that his faithful wife, Penelope, had for years been harassed by suitors from the neighboring coasts, who sought her hand in marriage, clamorously asserting that Odysseus must have long since perished, although his certain return was predicted by Halitherses. Finally, wearied out by the importunities of these men, who devoured the substance of the island in riotous living, and perceiving that she must resort to expedients to postpone a crisis, Penelope promised to select one from their number when she had finished an elaborate garment which she then had in the loom. The suitors consented to this plan. But each night for four years the queen unravelled what she had woven during the day; thus, undetected by the suitors, she deferred the hour for choosing another husband. She was almost past hope, however, when Odysseus unexpectedly appeared disguised as a mendicant.

Odysseus returns to Ithaca.

Device of Penelope to thwart the suitors.

It was of the highest importance that he should proceed with caution, lest the disappointed suitors should slay him. This the king was quite able to do because Pallas had disguised him, and he was recognized by no one except Argus, a hound who had accompanied Odysseus to the chase twenty years before. Argus recollected his master, crawled to his feet, and died licking the well-remembered hand. Disclosing himself to a few trusty followers, Odysseus succeeded in circumventing and slaughtering the suitors and their confeder-

ates, and regained possession of his throne. In the pure rapture of their reunion, it may be hoped that Penelope and Odysseus found some compensation for their long and arduous separation. It is recorded that Odysseus lost his life in old age at the hand of Telegonus, his son by Circe, who came to Ithaca in search of his father, and accidentally slew him.*

Return of Helen.

And Helen of Lacedæmon—what of her after the fall of the people she had by her beauty destroyed? Deiphobus, her husband when the Greeks entered Troy, was murdered, according to some accounts, by means of her own treachery in introducing Menelaus to the bed-chamber of the sleeping hero.† There is, however, room to question her instrumentality in this crime, because it is contrary to the uniform amiability of this incomparable woman, and because other accounts state that Menelaus was with difficulty reconciled to her;‡ which would hardly have been the case if the statement regarding her treachery were true. Most accounts agree that Menelaus condoned the flight of his queen on the ground that she was impelled by the will of the gods for purposes of their own. Æneas in his account of the destruction of Troy, states that Venus prevented him from slaying Helen, because the gods and not she were responsible for the fate of Ilium.

Sailing for Greece, off Sunium's rocky steep, a heavy sea tossed the fleet of Menelaus and washed away Phrontis, the pilot. This obliged Menelaus to land on the Attic coast, and perform the funeral rites which could alone assure peace to the drowned mariner in the shades below. Steering thence, the Spartan fleet weathered Cape Malea, and the snowy ranges of Tay-

* Telegonia of Eugammon. † Virg. Æn. ‡ Eurip. Troad.

getus were once more descried in the northwest, soaring above the roofs of Sparta.

Here, without further incidents of moment to disturb his reign, King Menelaus enjoyed the remaining years of his life. And Helen, restored after such long pursuit, shared his throne. In those days Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and king of Thessaly, sued for the hand of Hermione, daughter of Helen, and bore her away in marriage.

Helen once more at Sparta.

During these tranquil years it is recorded that Helen was at times perplexed by doubts regarding her share of responsibility for the tremendous events of which she had been the ostensible cause. But the clamors of self-accusation were stifled by the reflection that the gods had in a measure been the authors of these events.* Had she not been destined to Paris by the mandate of Aphrodite; while she would often have gladly prevented or stopped the war by rejoining Menelaus, if only Priam and Paris had given their sanction.

Thus Helen lapsed naturally into the possession of her former station. It is recorded that Telemachus visited Sparta, when travelling in search of his father Odysseus. She added the charms of her presence to the royal receptions and enlivened them with personal reminiscences of the siege of Troy;† and at night-time offered to her guests soothing draughts of nepenthe, which it may be reasonably surmised was bhâng‡ from the far east.

Life of Helen after her return.

But the hour came when King Menelaus joined the throng of comrades in arms who had preceded him to Hades. They bore

Second flight and death of Helen.

* Vid. Eurip. Troad. for a remarkable plea in her defence.

† Odyss.

‡ Officin. *Cannabis Indica.*

his ashes to Therapnæ and buried them near a temple he had founded. Helen was now alone and aged. The Fates decreed that she should not end her lot in peace.

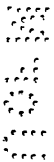
Megapenthes and Nicostratus, sons of Menelaus by a concubine, conspired to gain possession of the throne of Lacedæmon, and Helen soon saw herself stripped of all her hereditary rights and possessions. She retired to the island of Rhodes. But Polyxo, a native of Argos, then ruled the isle. She was the widow of Tlepolemus, who had been one of the suitors of Helen, and had lost his life on the plains of Troy.

The tidings that Helen had sought refuge in her dominions aroused all the old sorrow in the heart of Polyxo, and a resentment that thirsted for satisfaction. Attiring her hand-maidens in the guise of Furies, Polyxo commanded them to kill the exiled queen. They fulfilled her orders but too well. Helen had repaired to the bank of a stream to bathe. On a sudden a throng of simulated furies burst upon her. She was bound to a tree and strangled.* That such a fate should be awarded to an exile claiming hospitality and she the descendant of Zeus, and the fairest of women, was resented by the people of Rhodes. They erected an expiatory temple and dedicated it to Helena Dendritis, or "Helen bound to a tree." The last record of Helen tells us that her spirit was translated to the isle of Leuké, the ancient Avilion, lying in the Euxine. There she, the ideal of womankind, was united to Achilles the ideal hero of those remote ages.†

* Pausan. † Pausan.

PART II.

LITERATURE AND TOPOGRAPHY OF TROY.



CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN OF THE LEGEND.

THE facts stated at the close of the last chapter suggest a consideration of the various sources from which the story of the Trojan war is composed. The Homeric poems occur to most readers as the oldest, the most important, and to some the only authority from which we can draw information on the subject. This is true concerning the second of these opinions, untrue as regards the last, and scarcely correct as regards the first. The Iliad covers a period of only fifty-eight days; and the action of the plot in the Odyssey is also very brief. But they are both rich in allusions that are of very great value on the historic bearings of the Trojan question. We learn from these that the legend had already a firm hold on the Greek mind so long previously as to make a mere allusion comprehensible at once to the people; as in the case of the Judgment of Paris, or of the wooden horse.* We also have allusions to bards or poets who recited poetic tales

Literary sources of the Trojan legend.

Evidence of the existence of poets before Homer.

* Iliad XXIV.

with the lyre. Demodocus, in the Odyssey, gives pleasure to the court of king Alcinous with his poem on the loves of the gods. The legends concerning Orpheus and Thamyris, while remarkably obscure, also indicate the influence and power of poetry before the Homeric poems were composed. For while it cannot be absolutely proved that Orpheus and Thamyris were actual characters, neither can the contrary be satisfactorily maintained. The legend of Meleager, as told by Phœnix in the Iliad,* also affords a glimpse of the sources from which the immortal creator of the Iliad received suggestions both legendary and historic. The parallel between the wrath of Meleager and the wrath of Achilles appears to be more than a coincidence.

Legend of Meleager.

But while we find that, as might be expected, the Homeric poems are the culminating fruitage of a long preliminary literary and historic evolution, it is still true that by them are we first brought into direct contact with the great legend of "windy Troy."

The literary merit of these poems has never been surpassed by the noblest literatures of subsequent ages, and their inexhaustible richness of allusion has rendered them a mine of historic suggestions; through which we gain a clue to the movements of races, and the religions, and customs of those remote ages. It is not an overstatement to say that no productions of the human mind have approached the importance of the Homeric epics, for no other secular writings have exerted such a stupendous influence over the intellectual progress of the race. In saying this we do not forget the vast acceptation accorded to the

Importance of the Homeric poems.

* Iliad IX.

maxims of Confucius, Sakya Mouni and Mohamet. But while those seers and prophets have swayed two-thirds of the world's population they never originated such a literature as that of Greece, they recorded nothing, and their influence, beginning after that of Homer, reached its apogee centuries ago. While the Homeric legend gave to the Indo-Europeans the foundations of literature, religion, ethics, ethnics, philosophy and history, the master minds of antiquity were devoted to the study, the criticism, and the elucidation of these poems. The Dark and the Middle Ages drew from them material for legends and romances. The magician ransacked them for material for his mysteries, and the dramatist of modern as well as ancient times has delved in them for gold to fuse over again in the alembic of his imagination. And to-day, nearly three thousand years after those poems were composed, the Homeric legend and literature actually receive more attention and possess more importance than ever before; the vitality of the Homeric question is the most remarkable phenomenon in secular history.

Relative importance of Eastern literature.

Vast importance of the Trojan legend.

The subject has assumed a certain precision, and out of a vast amount of discussion several disputed points have been evolved scarcely less important than the question regarding the North Pole. Critics, poets, historians, archæologists, ethnologists, topographical engineers, and almost all other men of scholarly attainments are divided on the following questions. Was there ever such a man as Homer? If so, did he write both the Iliad and the Odyssey? If not, is he the author of the whole of the Iliad? Did the Homeric Troy ever exist? Was there ever such a war as the Trojan War? Where is the site of Troy? Are

Vagueness of the evidence.

the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann to be accepted as the authentic remains of the original Troy?

Points to be settled in the Homeric question.

These inquiries have been discussed from generation to generation, with inexhaustible enthusiasm, and too often with acrimonious heat, as if each writer based his argument upon incontrovertible facts. Whereas, there never was a question more speculative and hypothetical and demanding greater toleration of opinion, and moderation in argument. With slight exceptions, the evidence on the Homeric question has until recently been internal, and therefore critical, and therefore exactly of such a nature as to prove almost anything in accordance with the prepossessions of the critic. Internal evidence regarding the authenticity of an anonymous book or a work of art by an unknown artist can be made to suit as many different opinions as the Constitution of the United States or the Epistles of St. Paul. All this goes to prove that the Homeric question should be approached with becoming modesty, and discussed dispassionately and with the avoidance of positive assertion.

Other sources of information.

After the Iliad and the Odyssey our next source of authority for the Trojan legend, is found in the so-called Cyclic Poems, which are acknowledged to have been composed in every case subsequently to Homer; although the arrangement adopted apparently suggests that a number of them had precedence in time at least. The Iliad and the Odyssey were included in the original list of these epics, but their extraordinary excellence gradually separated them from the thirty poems which were conventionally termed Cyclic in opposition to the Homeric epic. The information we pos-

sess regarding the Cyclic poets is obscure and chiefly at second hand from Eutychias Proclus, a writer of the second century,

Arrangement of the Cyclic epics.

We gather from Proclus the fact that the grammarian school of Alexandria issued a corrected edition of all the Greek epics then extant to the Telegonia, arranging them at the same time in such order as to give a connected epical narrative from the mythological creation of the world. Of these five besides the Homeric epics, were devoted to the relation of the Trojan legend. They were so inferior to Homer, however, that they fell into neglect, and not even a copy of the epic cycle now exists. Sixty-two lines, quoted here and there in the classic writers, alone survive of a vast literature more or less legendary or historical. But Proclus gave the arguments of these lost poems, and numerous allusions or works of which they furnished the basis enable us to collect the various disjointed elements of the legend and weave a connected narrative of the Trojan war. In general the cyclic poets avoided treating the same portion of the legend, and thus each furnished a genuine contribution to the subject.

Fate of the Cyclic epos.

Stasinus or Hegesias was the author of the first in order of the Cyclic epics, the Cypria or Cyprian Epic. The poem might have been so-called because the author was from Cyprus, but more likely because it included an account of the influence of Cypria or Aphrodité on the destiny of Troy from the marriage of Peleus and Thetis to the quarrel of Agamemnon and Achilles.

Stasinus and the Cypria.

Arctinus, a native of Miletus, was reputed to be a pupil of Homer. There is no question made regarding the actual existence of this poet,

Arctinus.

although dating back to 776 B. C. This, by the way, seems to be a point in favor of also admitting the existence of such a man as Homer, who is reported to have lived not far from that time. Arctinus was the author of a poem containing 9000 lines. It began where the Iliad left off, opening at the death of Hector, and describing among other events the death of Memnon and Penthesilea, and ending with the destruction of the city. The poem was practically divided into two parts under different titles,—the Æthiopis and the sack of Troy, or Ἰλίου Πέρσις.

The Æthiopis and Sack of Troy.

Another epic which sometimes went by the same name, although generally known as the Little Iliad, was composed by Lesches of Lesbos. He gave a narrative or poetic chronicle of the events of the Trojan war, beginning with the competition for the celestial armor of Achilles, and including accounts of the deeds of Philoctetes, Odysseus and Ajax, together with a version of the capture of Ilium. So far as can be judged from ancient criticism and the fragments yet extant of this work, Lesches either drew on his invention largely or obtained his facts from traditions differing from those followed by Arctinus.* It must be remembered, however, that much of the criticism regarding the character of the Little Iliad as well as the other Cyclic epics is speculative and hence indecisive. Aristotle states that being more in the nature of a chronicle than an epic account of one central dramatic action, the Leschian epic afforded material for at least eight dramas, while the unity of the Iliad and the Odyssey permitted only one drama to be taken from them

Lesches and the Little Iliad.

* Müller, de Lesche Poëtâ.

respectively. The opinion of the Stagyrite philosopher has been ably combated by a number of modern critics, of whom the most prominent are Welcher and Colonel Mure, who have exhaustively considered the question of the Cyclic poets, and arrived at positive conclusions which are satisfactory to themselves regarding the literary merit of their works. But when we consider the excessive meagerness of the fragments which have been rescued from oblivion, it must be evident that it is futile to waste much time on this part of the discussion.

Modern criticism of the Cyclic poets.

Besides the Cyclic poets which we have mentioned, there was Eugammon of Cyrene, who composed the Telegonia about 560 B. C. It narrated the adventures of Telegonus, son of Odysseus and Circe, while searching for his father. Hagias of Trœzen closed the Trojan Cycle with the Nostos, in which he recorded the adventures of the Greek heroes on their return from the siege of Troy, with the exception of Odysseus.

Eugammon and the Telegonia.

Hagias of Trœzen.

Stesichorus of Himæra, like the Cyclic poets, is known to us almost entirely by allusions in the classic commentators. He was one of the greatest musicians and lyric poets of antiquity, and flourished about the first half of the sixth century before our era. He caused a great impression by the variations he introduced in a lyrical epic of which Helen was the subject. Unlike Homer, who always spoke of Helen with the utmost consideration, Stesichorus gave her the character of the basest of women. Soon after this he was struck with blindness. This affliction caused him to repent the impiety of desecrating the fame of the daughter of Zeus. Under the influence

Stesichorus' account of Helen.

of his revised opinions Stesichorus composed a palinode, in which he restored Helen to her good name. He did this by daring to tamper with the Homeric narrative; inventing the theory already alluded to on a previous page, that Helen never went to Troy, but that Paris had only carried away her image or semblance.

Herodotus obtained another version of this episode, in Egypt, which is not unlikely founded on that of Stesichorus. Paris, he says, on his return to Troy stopped in Egypt. Proteus, king of that country, learning that he was escaping with the wife of Menelaus, detained Helen but permitted Paris to sail away. But the Trojans never could persuade the Greeks that Helen was not in Troy. This was so designed because the gods wished to destroy Ilium, and thus the Greeks came and razed it to the ground. When the war was over Menelaus returned home by way of Egypt and found Helen there.

Account of Helen's flight by Herodotus.

To the great dramatic school of Athens we are also indebted for many of the details of the Trojan legend. While it is possible that the tragedians drew on their imagination for occasional incidents in their plots relating to this subject, and while it is certain that they employed them as vehicles for the expression of their opinions, yet we know that in most cases they gathered their material largely from the Cyclic poets then in the full tide of their popularity; sometimes also they doubtless drew from traditions to which they now afford the only clue. Of the plays yet extant by the three leading tragedians of Greece, and suggested by the Trojan legend, three are by Æschylus,—the Coëphoræ, the Furies, and the Agamemnon. The latter describes the death of Agamemnon and Cassandra, and justly stands at the head of the Greek

The tragic poets.

drama. In the whole range of literature we find nothing to exceed the agonizing strophes of Cassandra, or the stately and awful measures in which we see the noble and unsuspecting hero marching to his doom.

A number of dramas by Sophocles, suggested by the same general subject, still exist; these are the Philoctes, Electra, and Ajax armed with a Lash. Of the eighteen plays of Euripides now remaining, the Trojan legend suggested Hecuba, Andromache, Iphigenia in Aulis, Orestes, Rhesus, Iphigenia in Tauris, the Troades, Helen, and Electra. When we study these wonderful productions of the greatest minds of antiquity, we are not only lost in contemplation of the mysterious problems of human existence which perplex the thoughtful mind in all ages, but we also gain a more vivid conception of the profound significance and inexhaustible richness of the Homeric legend. Whether it has a historical basis, or is purely an invention of the imagination, or an attempt to explain the relations of God and man, it is alike the most remarkable subject to be found in the whole range of the intellectual progress of the race.

Other sources of the legend.

Ovid and Virgil have also contributed additions to the legend, which, in the absence of contradictory evidence, must be assumed to be founded on floating traditions. From Pausanias, Herodotus, Thucydides, and other prose writers, including the grammarians, we are able to obtain fresh versions or incidents elsewhere unrecorded concerning Troy. There is also another source of information on the subject, about whose antiquity and authorship there is great dispute.

Dictys Cretensis.

In the reign of Nero, while he was journeying in the Ægean, a violent earthquake occurred in Crete. It was stated that a tomb at Cnossus was rent

open by the convulsion and a manuscript was disclosed written in Phœnician; it purported to be an account of the Trojan War, by Dictys, a Cretan priest, who accompanied Idomeneus to Troy. It is further stated that the poem was afterwards translated into Greek by Eupraxides. Q. Septimius produced a Latin version in the reign of Dioclesian. That this poem was by Dictys is generally discredited; it is attributed by many to Eupraxides himself, who enriched it with many details from works now extinct. But it is quite within the limits of conjecture that it was the work of an earlier and now unknown writer. The story of the discovery of the manuscript is not by any means impossible, although improbable. In the severe earthquakes of 1870, ancient Peruvian tombs were opened and the interior disclosed, with their long buried occupants and treasures; while the shores of the eastern Mediterranean have for ages been liable to violent volcanic convulsions.

Ælian alludes to another authority on this subject whose work is now lost. This was Dares Phrygius, reputed to be a priest of Troy. From his account a Latin poem was composed in six books, entitled *De Bello Trojano*, and falsely credited to Nepos, in an edition published at Bâle in 1523; for it has been discovered that it was really the creation of Joseph Iscanus, a monk. It was often printed and bound with the poem attributed to Dictys Cretensis. The two works seemed to have possessed a peculiar attraction for the intellects of the Middle Ages. This was shown in a remarkable manner when Guido del Colonne, a Sicilian jurist and poet, composed in 1237 a Latin romance on the Trojan war; he drew his information from these two poems, and gave his narrative a mediæval flavor by the addition of the customs

Dares Phrygius.

and modes of thought of the days of chivalry. This nondescript romance became as popular as Amadis de Gaul. It was translated into most of the languages of Europe. In those illiterate times, when only the clergy were interested in the literature of the past, and that chiefly Latin, except Aristotle and the Fathers, the tale of Troy as told by Colonne was implicitly accepted as a genuine historic chronicle. The noble houses of Europe were fired by the impulse to trace their origin to some hero of Troy, and the monks found new employment in composing genealogies dating from the Trojan war. Even royal houses were infected by the enthusiasm aroused in the story of Ilium, and the English assumed that their history began with Brute of Troy.* This absurd claim was maintained in official documents as late as the fourteenth century, and was perpetuated by the historians for two centuries later.

Romance of Guido del Colonne.

The famous legend of King Arthur shows traces of Homeric influence in the names of Sir Ector, Sir Palamides, Sir Alisander and Elaine. The latter is far more like the Greek than Helen. In the Middle Ages, when the legend of Faust was current among the masses, the name of Helen of Troy became associated with the name of that arch magician. Kit Marlowe in a few vivid and impassioned lines of his Fausteian drama availed himself of this bizarre ideal. In a later age, a mind of different type and colossal proportions also employed the mediæval legend as a means to aid him in grappling with the problem of life. Goethe in the second part of Faust includes a majestic act of which Helen is the leading character.

Marlowe.

Goethe's Helena.

* Geoffrey of Monmouth, Hollinshed, etc.

Shakespeare, Racine, Alfierri and other modern dramatists have also composed plays suggested by the Ilian legend, and have aided by their genius to perpetuate the world's interest in it, and give fresh evidence of the inexhaustible opulence of the mine from which they have drawn such treasure.

Translations of Homer.

The Iliad and the Odyssey have been translated into a number of the European languages. In French the most important versions are by Bitoubé and Madame Dacier; in Italian by Monti and Cæsarotti; in German by Voss. In English by Chapman, Hobbes, Pope (assisted by Tickle in the Odyssey), Cowper, Newman, Sotheby, Derby and Bryant. Of the English translations we prefer those by Chapman, Pope, and Derby, although neither of the two former are so correct and literal as Cowper or Bryant. But the translator of the Iliad should be fired by enthusiasm, and wield a fervid, energetic style of expression. These requisites we find in Chapman and Pope, and to a less degree in Derby. It is not the literal meaning of each word that is needed in the translation of poetry so much as a rendering of its spirit, which can sometimes be better done by a paraphrase than a literal rendering. But Chapman is perhaps too gothic and undignified in his style; with all his fire Homer is always stately and elegant; he is ever master of his subject. It is for this reason that the translation of the Iliad by Pope gives a better conception of the original than all other English versions. He who wrote the stinging invectives of the Dunciad knew how to render with force yet with exquisite polish such a powerful speech as that of Poseidon personating Calchas and inciting the Greeks to resist the onset of the Trojans on the fleet.*

English versions.

Speech of Poseidon to the Greeks.

* Il. XIII.

"Oh lasting infamy, oh dire disgrace,
To chiefs of vigorous youth and manly race;
I trusted in the gods, and you, to see
Brave Greece victorious and her navy free;
Ah no—the glorious combat you disclaim,
And one black day clouds all her former fame.
Heavens! what a prodigy these eyes survey,
Unseen, unthought, till this amazing day!
Fly we at length from Troy's oft-conquered bands?
And falls our fleet by such inglorious hands?
A rout undisciplined, a straggling train,
Not born to glories of the dusty plain;
Like frighted fawns, from hill to hill pursued,
A prey to every savage of the wood;
Shall these, so late who trembled at your name,
Invade your camps, involve your ships in flame?
A change so shameful, say, what cause has wrought?
The soldier's baseness, or the general's fault?
Fools! will ye perish for your leader's vice;
The purchase infamy, and life the price?
'Tis not your cause, Achilles' injured fame:
Another's is the crime, but yours the shame.
Grant that our chief offend through rage or lust,
Must you be cowards if your king's unjust?
Prevent this evil, and your country save:
Small thought retrieves the spirit of the brave.
Think and subdue! on dastards dead to fame
I waste no anger for they feel no shame;
But you, the pride, the flower of all our host,
My heart weeps blood to see your glory lost!
Nor deem this day, this battle all you lose;
A day more black, a fate more vile ensues.
Let each reflect, who prizes fame or breath,
On endless infamy, on instant death,
For lo, the fated time, th' appointed shore;
Hark! the gates burst, the brazen barriers roar
Impetuous Hector thunders at the wall;
The hour, the spot, to conquer, or to fall."

CHAPTER II.

HOMER.

Biography of Homer.

HOMER and the two works attributed to him, the Iliad and the Odyssey, are then the centre from whence the whole of this legend springs so far as our direct knowledge extends. It is therefore of moment to inquire who was this great poet whose character looms up vast and mysterious through the nebulous haze of the traditionary past. Did he indeed have a being? Is he a personality of whom the imagination can form a distinct conception? Was he in very sooth the author of the great Homeric epos? What did the master minds nearest to his time consider him to be? and what, in the light of long investigation, severer methods of criticism and far more extensive philological resources, do the leading minds of these later days think of Homer, of the Iliad, and of Troy? In a few brief pages let us endeavor to find the answer to these questions.

Biographical details about Homer.

The ancients believed earnestly and entirely in the identity of Homer. Several biographies were written of him, which, although their truth is greatly questioned, it is worth while to notice. The most important came into notice about the time of Herodotus and has been attributed to him for no other reason apparently, than because he was the most prominent historical writer of the time. Its authenticity has been severely handled by the critics and

it is long since it has been accepted as a credible record of the career of the immortal bard. But whatever is known or supposed to be known of Homer is derived chiefly from this narrative, and from a later one falsely attributed to Plutarch.

We learn from these works that Menalippus, an Athenian, went to Cumæ in Ionia. He had a daughter named Critheis, whom he left at his death in the charge of Cleanax, his friend. But Cleanax proved unworthy of his trust, and when he found she was with child by him sent Critheis to Smyrna. There Homer was born on the bank of the Meles. His mother wove woolen stuffs to earn a living for herself and her infant.

Parentage of Homer.

There was at that time in Smyrna, a famous school of music and letters kept by Phemius. He was not so wedded to these pursuits, however, as to disdain the passions with which other men are concerned. Having seen Critheis he discerned in her qualities which won his love. He frankly wooed and married her, adopted her son and gave him instruction. At the death of Phemius, Homer or Melesigenes, as he was sometimes called, from the place of his birth, inherited his step-father's effects including the school, and acquired repute as a teacher. During this period he seems to have conceived the idea of composing the Iliad. Having this in view and being apparently of an inquiring mind, and thirsting for information, he accepted the invitation of a shipman named Mentes, who urged him to accompany him on a cruise to distant lands, and over remote seas. During this voyage, one of the most important ever taken, if it occurred, Homer went as far as Italy and Spain. On his return he stopped at Ithaca, and

Travels of Homer.

saw Ulysses, from whom he doubtless obtained many important particulars regarding the Trojan war.

On arriving at Smyrna, after this long voyage of discovery, protracted doubtless for many years, Homer found that he had been comparatively forgotten; others had taken his place; but he had brought back with him the greatest poem ever composed by mortal man; it was a fortune to him and was to be a heritage of priceless value for many cycles after he was so forgotten that his very existence would be brought into question. Wandering from city to city, he recited his poem with alternating success, and finally settled at the village of Volisso, in Chios, where he opened a school and married. Like Milton, he became the father of two daughters, and lost his sight in old age. In Chios, it is said, he composed the Odyssey. Still restless and ambitious, the blind bard aspired to recite in Greece the songs of whose merit he was doubtless aware; but he died on the voyage, at the island of Ios, whose people raised a tomb to his memory on the shore of the sea that none of that age knew better.

Death of Homer.

Such is a brief outline of the life of Homer as handed down to us in records which the critics have pronounced unreliable. There is certainly nothing improbable in these details. The difficulty in accepting them seems to be because they were written centuries after the latest date allowable for his birth, and because the internal evidence from the poems themselves is believed by some of the most important Homeric writers to preclude the necessity of believing that any such man ever lived. The name of Homer, they allege, was a generic term derived from the Sanscrit, having several meanings, but none especially applicable to the point.

Some say that Homeros means hostage; others that it signifies compiler; Suidas asserts that it is equivalent to counselor. On the island of Ios they said it meant follower. Sengenbusch surmises that Homeros was the Æolic form for Thamyris, the blind bard of Thrace,—not by any means a bad guess. The ancient writers generally considered the word to be a pseudonym; it undoubtedly did become an eponym for the schools of epic poetry.

Theories about the name of Homer.

Others again assert that notwithstanding there are two or three biographies of Homer extant, the manifest spuriousness of these works and the absolute absence of any authentic information about the man Homer is sufficient to prove that he is a myth, a mere shadowy name.

It would be simple presumption to assert, in the premises, that Homer lived; farther on in the discussion however, the evidence in his favor may be satisfactorily explained. But it may be suggested here that the argument drawn from analogy tends to support the faith of those who believe in his identity. Shakespeare lived in an age remarkable for its literary activity, an age abounding in printed records, and he himself the greatest author since Homer, and yet how little we know about him that is authentic compared with his less important contemporaries. The authenticity of many of his works is obscure, and there are some people of sense who deny him the credit of the authorship of his plays; and yet it is not three centuries since he died.

Existence of Homer indicated by analogy.

The Dark Ages abound in historic records; it was a period of intense activity, as is shown by the superb architectural structures that covered Europe at that time; but while these Cathedrals were celebrated far and wide in those Dark Ages as we call them, how

rarely is the name of the architect recorded. The same has been the case with the literatures of people possessing far better means of preserving the names of their authors than the Greeks had in the time of Homer. The epic literature of the Saxons, the Moorish poetry of Spain, the vast mass of romances of the days of chivalry, the pathetic ballads of the Slavic races, among many instances that we could adduce, have come down to us often in admirable condition, but how little is said of the authors of these works, how rarely are their names recorded in history, and yet no one questions that each of these poems or romances owed its respective existence to an author who had an actual existence. Aware of the facility with which people remember a literary work but ignore or forget its authors, a fact which any person of ordinary observation can put to the proof, the Persian poets have always perpetuated their names by incorporating them in some part of their works, whether they be merely distichs or elaborate epics.

Instead, therefore, of agreeing with many critics that the slight knowledge we have of Homer, and the possible myths that have grown up around his name are indications that he never existed, we consider, in view of the arguments we have already adduced, that the simple recollection of his name, the importance attributed to it by antiquity, almost amounts to a demonstration of his existence.

The ancients never wavered, however, in their belief in the reality of Homer's identity. He was to them a living personality, whose genius had breathed inspiration into the national life of Greece. So vast was the influence of the growing reputation of Homer that seven cities laid claim to his birth.* On examining these

* Aulus Gellius.

claims, it is found that in no case did any of them seem to be so strong as the right of Smyrna. The claim of several was indirect, as that they aided to colonize Smyrna, while the existence of a myth associating him with that city, is additional proof, in the then condition of society.

But it is quite probable that the poet passed much of his life in Chios, at Volisso, a village on the west side of the isle, which still goes by that name. Koray, one of the most learned and entertaining of modern Homeric commentators, and himself a native of the Levant, lays the scene of his Prolegomena in Volisso. A typical parish priest named Papa Trechas, so-called because he ran over the service with such grotesque speed, serves as the means of giving life to the dry notes of the annotator.

Koray on Homer.

In the Hymn to Apollo, which was composed by Homer, two important facts in his life—his birth or residence in Scio and his blindness, are confirmed by a touching allusion:—"The blind old man who dwells in Scio's rocky isle."* Thucydides, one of the most acute minds of antiquity, accepts this as conclusive evidence of Homer's blindness.

Blindness of Homer.

At Volisso a school of rhapsodists, or minstrels, was founded either by Homer himself, or soon after his death. They were called Homeridæ. In this manner they served to perpetuate the fame of their master. They differed from the earlier bards, because they recited without a harp but with a wand which they waved with a rythmical motion.† It may be added that the scholars of antiquity fixed the time when Homer flourished at about 850 to 750 be-

The Homeridæ.

* Τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δε χίῳ ἔν, παιπαλοέσσῃ.

† Welcher, Grote, &c.

Time of Homer.

fore Christ, or very near the period when the Greeks began to compute history by Olympiads.

The Arundelian marbles, Herodotus and other authorities assign his birth a century earlier. A famous legend of antiquity gave an account of a poetic contest between Homer and Hesiod at Chalcis. While there is little doubt that Hesiod was the younger poet, it by no means follows that he was not a contemporary of Homer. As the existence of Hesiod has never been seriously called in question, the fact that tradition made him the immediate contemporary and successor of Homer is another indirect proof of the latter's existence.

Homer and Hesiod.

The Homeric poems were sung in the towns and hamlets of the Greek colonies of Asia, during the ages when the primitive Greeks were passing by steady evolution from semi-barbarism to the period immediately preceding the effulgence of the Pericleian age. It is said that these poems were first brought from Ionia to Greece by Lycurgus. This statement depends chiefly on tradition. But there is no question that Solon ordained that the Iliad should be recited according to a regular and fixed order at the Panathenaic festivals. Grote considers this evidence that the Iliad had already been committed to writing at some previous period and much in its present form. It is certain that the poem, whether entire or in separate rhapsodes, was at that time already reduced to writing, because Solon directed that the recitation should follow the guidance of a prompter with his manuscript. This fact is sufficient to disprove the statement of Pausanias and the Latin writers, that Peisistratus ordered a recension of the Iliad in its present connected form; or in other words, that

Solon and Peisistratus give permanent form to the Homeric epos.

by his authority the learned men of Athens welded together a number of loose and disconnected poems into a harmonious whole. This conclusion has been earnestly, and, as we think, unsuccessfully combated by Wolf, Müller and other German critics, who have undertaken to decide the question from their inner consciousness. If their theory could be established, the very existence or necessity for a Homer would be explained away. What Peisistratus actually accomplished seems to have been to direct Onomacritus, an Athenian poet, assisted by Zopyrus of Heraclea and Orpheus of Croton, to revise the Iliad, already a connected aggregate, and to purify it from the interpolations or errors which had gradually crept into the original during the time its existence was dependent on the memory of the rhapsodists. The great school of Alexandrine critics does not even mention the revision of Peisistratus, which is certainly a point in favor of the opinion that he introduced no important change in the Homeric epos.

Commission appointed by Peisistratus to revise the Iliad.

If the Iliad and the Odyssey had up to this time been leading influences in the growth of Hellenic civilization, their official authorization by Solon and Peisistratus in a state that was destined to exercise a wider intellectual power than any other of antiquity and perhaps of modern times, gave these poems a weight that can be likened only to that of the Bible and Shakespeare combined among the English-speaking races. They were at once a literary standard which were studied by dramatists, orators, philosophers and statesmen, and together with the Theogeny of Hesiod were like a theological school from which the ancients drew their ideas of the gods. The genius of Homer was worshipped as god-

Influence of Homer upon the Greek mind.

Estimation in which Homer was held.

like, and temples were erected to his honor at Chios, Alexandria, Smyrna, and elsewhere; games were also instituted to his memory; Apollo and Homer were actually worshipped together at Argos, the one as the god of song, the other of minstrelsy.*

We have said that the philosophers studied Homer profoundly, and it was through them, therefore, that he exerted the most potential influence. But it was the philosophers also who, as moralists, first attacked him, and while acknowledging his pre-eminent genius, reprehended the teachings of the Iliad and the Odyssey. Xenophanes severely criticised the Homeric morals. The opinion of Plato carried more authority. His discussion about the merits of Homer affords a remarkable measure of the growth of civilization and thought in Athens, and is one of the highest points reached by heathen philosophy. He approaches the subject somewhat as a modern theologian would question a new interpretation that would lead him to depart from strict orthodox belief in the Bible. "Though I have always from my earliest youth," says Plato, "had an awe and love for Homer, which even now makes the words falter on my lips, for he is the great captain and teacher of the whole of that charming company; but a man is not to be reverenced before the truth, and therefore I will speak out."†

The Philosophers and the Homeric morals.

It was Plato's conclusion that the works of Homer should be excluded, because they awaken the emotions but impair the reason; because the stories he tells about the gods are qualified to lower the popular respect for the deity; be-

Plato's reasons for opposing Homer.

* Ælian. † Plato, Rep. B. 10.

cause the cruelty and mendacity of some of the heroes of Homer are liable to corrupt the public mind; and, finally, because poetry should be excluded from a well-ordered state, since poetry and philosophy are opposed.

It is a curious circumstance that one of the passages quoted by Plato as mischievous and untrue is similar to an illustration that is to be found in the Psalms of David.

Says Homer:—

> "Two coffers lie beside the door of Jove,
> With gifts for man: one good, the other ill;
> To whom from each the Lord of lightning gives
> Him sometimes evil, sometimes good befalls;
> To whom the ill alone, him foul disgrace
> And grinding mis'ry o'er the earth pursue,
> By God and man alike despis'd he roams." *

In Psalms we read, "For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and the wine is red; it is full of mixture; and he poureth out of the same: but the dregs thereof, all the wicked of the earth shall wring them out, and drink them." †

We also find a parallel in the Bible to the false dream sent by Zeus to Agamemnon, wherein we are told that the Lord sent a lying spirit into Ahab. Numerous other parallels may be found between passages of Homer and the Bible, suggesting moral intent and indicating a common origin for both, in far older periods, on the plains of Central Asia.

Ethics of the Homeric poems.

So keenly alive did the leaders of Hellenic thought become to the ethical influence of the writings of Homer and the supposed perniciousness of some of its episodes, that some of the

* Il. xxiv., trans. by Earl of Derby. † Ps. lxxv.

critics ventured in the cause of good morals to soften or omit them. Even Aristarchus, the greatest of ancient critics, was so alarmed by this supposed tendency that in spite of his profound admiration for Homer, he threw out four lines in the ninth book of the Iliad.* He considered it demoralizing that one of the Homeric heroes should be found willing to admit without hesitation his participation in a crime.

It is difficult for the modern mind to realize the force of these opinions because the mythology of the Iliad is to us simply a succession of typical fables, but to the popular mind of antiquity they were realities. We also are able to see that it was no intention of the author of these poems to assume the office of teacher either of ethics or theology. He was a dramatic genius who under an epic form narrated events more or less imaginary, and permitted his characters to act their own parts without note or comment of his own. An old English writer,† who calls him a mimographer, admirably states the character of the Homeric epos. "He (Homer) describes no Qualities nor Virtues; makes no encomiums, nor gives characters himself; but brings his actors still in view! 'Tis they who show themselves! 'Tis they who speak in such a manner, as distinguishes them in all things from all others, and makes them ever like themselves. Their different compositions and allays so justly made, and equally carried on, through every particle of the action, give more instruction than all the Comments or Glosses in the world. The Poet, instead of giving himself those dictating and masterly Airs of Wisdom, makes hardly any figure at all, and is scarcely discoverable in his poem. This is being truly a master."

Shaftesbury's description of Homer's style.

* Plutarch, Grote.

† Shaftesbury's "*Advice to an Author.*"

It must be admitted, however, that passages occur in the Iliad which seem almost to have the distinct secondary purpose of instruction, as often happens in modern, although rarely in ancient poetry. We find a striking example of this in such a speech as that of Hector to Polydamus; not only is there apparent intention in those lines to lay down certain general rules of belief or a creed, but one is also startled at the freedom with which the poet contemns religious customs, at that time universally accepted, and seems to exhibit that right to independent interpretation of theological truths which is peculiar to the leading minds of that great epoch.

"Sternly the crested Hector looked, and spoke:—
'Polydamus, the thing that thou hast said
Pleases me not, and easily couldst thou
Frame better counsels. If thy words convey
Thy earnest thought, the gods assuredly
Have made thee lose thy senses. Thou dost ask
That I be governed by the flight of birds,
Which I regard not, whether to the right
And toward the morning and the sun they fly,
Or toward the left and evening. We should heed
The will of mighty Jupiter, who bears
Rule over gods and men. One augury
There is, the surest and the best, to fight
For our own land. Why dreadest thou the war
And conflict? Though we all should fall beside
The galleys of the Greeks, there is no fear
That thou wilt perish, for thou hast no heart
To stand against the foe;—no warrior thou!
Yet, if thou dare to stand aloof, or seek
By words to win another from the fight,
The spear I wield shall take thy life at once." *

* Il. xx., Bryant's Translation.

Aside from the aversion of the philosophers to the moral tendency of Homer, his poetry received little unfavorable criticism from the ancients.* His identity was never called in question nor his claim to the authorship of the Iliad and the Odyssey. But of Homeric criticism in the way of annotation or revision there was an abundance. In the third century before Christ a school of grammarians existed at Alexandria whose profession it was to give literary instruction and to sift and consolidate the Greek classics. Aristarchus was at the head of this school. What Homer was in poetry, what Plato was in philosophy, such was Aristarchus in the ancient field of scholarship and criticism. He was a man of vast knowledge, clear perceptions and a weight of character that gave imperial force to his opinions. The literary world has been vastly the debtor to this great man, for so carefully editing the Greek poets and dramatists, especially the Homeric poems. He went through these works in the most exhaustive manner, weighing every word and purifying the text from interpolations. He also divided the two Homeric epics into twenty-four books each.

The grammarians of Alexandria on Homer.

Not the least valuable results of the investigation of Aristarchus were the remarks or scholia along the margin in which he expounded his views. These are now in the Marcian library at Venice.

Aristarchus and his work.

It would be a dry and unnecessary task to give a list of all the grammarians and writers contemporary with the Alexandrian school, and subsequently until the fall of the Roman empire, whose names and works have been

* An exception to this statement is found in Zoilus, who wrote nine books so severely criticising the literary qualities of Homer, that he was called Homeromastix, the scourge of Homer.

bequeathed to our time. The catalogue would almost fill a volume. But while the opinions of many of these writers are often of very little moment, the scholia attached to their manuscripts are of great importance, for they give us extracts from works now lost in oblivion, the Cyclic poets for example. Eustathius of Thessalonica, a writer of the twelfth century, is one of the last of this list of commentators whose works are valuable on this account.

CHAPTER III.

GERMAN CRITICISM ON HOMER.

FOR many centuries the Homeric question lay in abeyance. Read by scholars, the great poet during the middle ages was untouched by the shafts of criticism, and was only mentioned by occasional allusion or eulogistic comment. So implicitly was his identity believed, so universally were the events of the Trojan war accepted as genuine, so uncritical, in a word, was public opinion on this question, that, in 1711 we find so acute and learned a writer as Addison expressing himself in the following language in a critical paper on the Ballad of Chevy Chase: "The greatest modern critics have laid it down as a rule, that an heroic poem should be founded upon some important precept of morality adapted to the constitution of the country in which the poet writes. Homer and Virgil have formed their plans in this view. As Greece was a collection of many governments, who suffered very much among themselves, and gave the Persian emperor, who was their common enemy, many advantages over them by their mutual jealousies and animosities, Homer, in order to establish among them an union, which was so necessary for their safety, grounds this poem upon the discords of several Grecian princes, who were engaged in a confederacy against an Asiatic prince, and the several advantages which the enemy gained by their discords."*

State of the Homeric question until the 18th century.

Addison's opinion of Homer.

* Spectator, No. 70.

This is delicious for its simplicity, as well as its ignorance of the most ordinary facts regarding Homer, as for example the fact that the latest date assigned to Homer by the ancients antedates the Greek and Persian wars by several centuries. But already the men were born who were to originate a rebellion against Homer and give rise to a host of critics devoted to the task of abolishing Homer and the unity of the Iliad, and relegating Troy to phantom land.

Origin of modern criticism of Homer.

Hedelin and Perrault, French scholars of the latter part of the seventeenth century, ventured the statement that whether Homer was the author of the Iliad or not, that poem was an aggregate composed of a number of loose lyrical poems, About the same time Bentley. the great classical critic, said, "Homer wrote a sequel of songs and rhapsodies to be sung by himself, for small earnings and good cheer, at festivals and other days of merriment: the Iliad is made for the men, and the Odyssey for the other sex. These loose songs were not collected together in the form of an epic poem till about 500 years after." The scholarship of Bentley was of the highest, but like too many classic scholars, his literary taste was of very little value; he placed no esteem on Shakespeare, Bacon, or Milton! True criticism requires a sympathetic capacity to appreciate the subject criticised no less than philological attainments. Vico, in 1725, expressed similar views regarding the Homeric question.

Bentley's opinion.

The opinions of these critics, especially of Bentley, seem to have produced no immediate effect; but that they were ultimately influential after the lapse of generations was acknowledged by Wolf, who directly mentions Bentley as the originator of the new theory regarding

the composition and authorship of the Iliad. These vague and occasional utterances finally assumed a definite shape suddenly, and at once produced astonishment and consternation among the scholars of Europe. It was in 1795 that Wolf published the famous Prolegomena to his edition of the Iliad. What had preceded had been merely the dropping fire of skirmishers; but this was the opening charge of a great battle which at once ranged European critics, especially of Germany and England, on one side or the other in a furious controversy whose smoke has not yet cleared away.

Wolf comes out with his famous Prolegomena.

Wolf was a man of very great ability; he was earnest, logical and master of his subject. This it was which gave such force to his arguments and filled the ranks of the conservatives with dismay, together with the unquestioned fact that there was a certain appearance of truth in the grounds upon which Wolf based his theory. This theory was in substance that the Iliad was not the creation of Homer or any other one poet, but was made up of a selection of ballads or detached poems to the number of seventeen, at least, composed by a cluster of rhapsodists. These lyrics were selected from a large number of similar ballads, and aggregated into a somewhat inconsistent unity by the authority of Peisistratus, before whose time, therefore, no such epic as the Iliad existed. Wolf based his arguments first on Pausanias, Josephus, and Cicero, the only ancient authorities who attribute such importance to the intervention of Peisistratus; but it must be added, in justice, that these authorities do not hint a doubt of Homeric authorship.

Theory of Wolf on the Homeric Iliad.

He drew another argument for the atomistic theory, as it is called, because in his time the earliest known records

of writing by the Greeks were fixed at so late a date as to force the conclusion that the Homeric epics owed their preservation to the memory and oral recitation alone for several centuries. This the critic considered was such an incredible feat, because of the length of the Iliad, as to be an *a priori* argument in favor of his theory. To these not thoroughly conclusive views, he added a stronger one drawn from internal evidence, and here it was that his great scholarship carried weight. Not only did he discover numerous discrepancies, contradictions, repetitions, and divisions, which seemed to be parts of different poems imperfectly welded together, but he also found numerous lines, expressions, or passages which seemed to him so inferior to the finer portions of the poem as to appear to be interpolations or the composition of inferior poets. The latter line of argument was especially congenial to the painstaking, detail-loving, pedantic character of the German student, who is often more capable of finding a false quantity than of grasping the conception of a grandly poetic conception.

Arguments of Wolf.

Wolf's theory produced a profound sensation. It was accepted on all sides with enthusiasm in Germany. Fichte and Humboldt hastened to give in their adhesion. Müller and Lachmann followed with works sustaining Wolf, and even exceeding the wildness of his theories. Even the great Gœthe was carried away by the flood tide of success which floated the new speculation into what seemed to be a permanent settlement of the question as to the origin of the Iliad. As Mahaffy has truly observed, "we may say that there is no controversy in which each side has been more successful in proving its case, and yet has more signally failed to overthrow its opponents."

Adherents of the Wolfian theory.

Opinions of Schiller and Gœthe.

Schiller declined to be carried away by the specious arguments of Wolf; he clung with true poetic instinct to the unity of the Iliad and the authorship of Homer. Gœthe himself afterwards declared against Wolf, and wrote to Schiller, "I am more than ever convinced of the unity and indivisibility of the poems, and there is no man living, nor will there ever be, who can settle the question. I, at least, find myself every moment coming back to a mere subjective opinion; so has it been with others before us, so will it be with others after us." In these few sentences lies the pith of the Homeric question. With all due respect for the scholarship of Wolf and his adherents, and notwithstanding the sneer of Schlegel at "æsthetic dogmatism," it appears very near the truth to say that the judgment of a mind like that of Gœthe, the greatest and the most serene the literature of Germany has produced, endowed with the rare combination of vast and general knowledge, critical acumen and poetic genius, is certainly of no less moment than the subtleties of Teutonic philology.

As might naturally be expected, from the favorable reception accorded to his theories, Wolf found himself sustained before long by a number of German critics of similar character and scholarship. Some of them have varied from him on certain points which seem to them sufficient cause for giving utterance to their opinions, but the cumulative effect of their criticism has practically been to give aid and comfort to his hypothesis. Hermann may be considered wholly as a speculative critic. His opinions can have force only with those who have not mind enough of their own to refute his *ipse dixit* in regard to statements based wholly on assumption. He so far dif-

Reception given to the atomist theory.

fers from Wolf as to regard the ballads, of which Wolf considered the Iliad to be an aggregate, to be in reality a consistent outline by an original genius. This outline he supposed to have been filled in with various episodes more or less in harmony with the design by the hands of a number of unknown bards. Hermann also assumed that the Iliad had no genealogy or relation to previous poetic literature, but marks a distinct and disconnected era in Greek literature, that sprang from nothing full-fledged and matured. Lachmann denies in turn, that the songs of which the Iliad is thought to be composed are awkardly joined; while he discovers so many apparent inconsistencies that it is his emphatic opinion that whatever evidence of plan we find in the Iliad, is the work of a later age. There is still another class of critics who claim to be favorable to the unity of the Iliad. Berk is the representative of these critics. They assume that there was an original plan to the Iliad, but that it has been completely buried up under a mass of interpolations and additions. Each of these critics, therefore, employs his judgment to throw out passage after passage, and even whole books. As all of them vary in opinion as to what passages are spurious, as in fact they reduce the question to a mere matter of individual taste, as their tireless and microscopic inspection is chiefly bent upon finding faults in a great work, completely forgetting that no human production can attain perfection, it must be evident in what a hopeless task they are engaged. They are simply reasoning in a circle. Their critical writings have undoubtedly been of advantage in promoting the advance of scholarship and philology. But as reasoning based

Opinion of Hermann.

Lachmann's theory.

Opinion of Berk.

wholly on individual hypothesis is of very slight value, until it is endorsed by fact, it can hardly be admitted that we have learned any more of the question at issue, —that is about Homer and the origin of the Iliad—from these writers than was known when Wolf expounded his famous theory in 1795.

As an instance of the absurdities into which these critics have been sometimes led by their overweening confidence in their methods of criticism, Berk may be quoted as advancing the extraordinary assumption that Homer was a man of austere and majestic character, which may be very true but, considering that even the identity of Homer is in question, would seem to indicate that the critic has sources of information vouchsafed to no one else. He further assumes that it was impossible for such a character to produce other than stern and heroic measures; he could not condescend to pathos or the refinements of style. And therefore the dialogue of Priam and Helen, the parting of Hector and Andromache, the ransoming of the body of Hector, which are among the most remarkable scenes of the great epic, are unworthy of Homer. It is as if one should say that because Shakspeare wrote Macbeth he could not have condescended to write Romeo and Juliet, or that the scene of the death of Cordelia was unworthy of him because he had described the senile fury of King Lear.

Berk's hypothetical description of Homer.

Berk places limitations on the genius of Homer.

Let us for example consider any of the leading imaginative writers of this century,—Scott, Byron, Browning, or George Eliot, Victor Hugo, Auerbach, or Turgenieff; or, for the sake of having the parallel more just, let us take such epic poets as Camoens, Ariosto, Spenser or Milton, all writing in more critical times and with far greater

facilities for correctness in language and style, and reproduction by preservation and printing, than could be expected of Homer; let the reader imagine what would be the fate of any one of these writers, supposing a copy of his works were to be found three thousand years hence and fall into the hands of such a horde of critics as have dissected the sublime genius of Homer in Germany. There is scarce one of these writers that would come out of such a trying and unjust ordeal otherwise than completely demolished.

What criticism should be.

Of course a certain degree of verbal criticism and personal taste is permissible and sometimes necessary in judging pure literature. But the truest criticism will give most importance to the general scope of a work; looking at it largely and generously, expecting to find occasional slips in style, errors of language, and discrepancies of statement, but allowing the general impression it produces to be the ultimate guide in forming a conclusion as to its merits. Any other theory of criticism must in the nature of things be unjust.

Attack on the unity of the Odyssey.

Wolf and his immediate followers devoted their attacks against the integrity of the Iliad. But they spared the Odyssey. There is reason to believe that some of the critics of the great Alexandrian school were about to attack the joint authorship of the Odyssey and the Iliad, which had never been brought into question before that time; although it had been considered possible, as it still is by some of the most faithful adherents of the Homeric unity, that it was composed in the old age of the poet. Pitched on a lower key than the Iliad, the Odyssey, with its quiet narrative style, its attractive domestic

The joint authorship of the Iliad and the Odyssey.

scenes, and the intellectual rather than military character of its hero, requires no subtle criticism to show that it is either the work of Homer composed in a different mood than when his fiery soul gave vent to the impetuous strains of the Iliad, or that it is the creation of a mind of different temper. But that, if written by Homer, it was in his old age is by no means a *sequitur*. Milton composed the first two tremendous books of Paradise Lost when he was past sixty, and Il Penseroso when he was but a mere youth.

Character of the Odyssey.

Aside from minor details of difference which undoubtedly exist, the strongest point urged against the unity of authorship is the fact that Achilles, the symbol of physical perfection, is the hero of the Iliad, while Odysseus, the type of intellectual power, is the principal character of the Odyssey. But it is difficult to see why it was requisite for Homer to have the same hero in both poems, while it is reasonable to suppose that as he grew older and took more sober views of life he would naturally exalt intellect above material force. This, however, let us hasten to add, is mere conjecture, like most of the other arguments that are urged either for or against the joint authorship.

Arguments against unity of authorship.

One who is conversant with the heroes of the Greek revolution can easily discover that both Achilles and Odysseus are genuine Greek types painted by one who was himself every inch a Greek. But the latter is the more genuinely national; the former belongs rather to one of the northern provinces of Greece. Close in friendship, but making a cult of revenge, generously impetuous but unswerving in purpose, he resembles the Suliotes and Albanians. But if one should seek to form

Typical character of Achilles and Odysseus.

the model of the typical Greek of to-day he would fashion him after the Odyssean type. The Greek character, although it may seem paradoxical to say so, has always been intellectual, wholly master of itself, and never so controlled by passion as to allow it to interfere with self-interest. Although Sappho and Anacreon were Greeks, the passionate and sensual elements do not predominate in the national temperament. The emotions of the Greeks more often spring from the brain than from the heart. Neither in their literature nor their history do we find such evidences of sensuality and blood-thirstiness as often stain the records of the Latin race. Herein lies the secret of the superb equipoise and symmetry which gives such permanent value to the arts and literature of Greece. We find it in the writings of Homer before the dawn of history no less than in the works of Phidias and Sophocles in the age of Pericles. When we consider the circumstances under which it was composed, we find no work of the imagination which shows this intellectual mastery to a greater degree than the Odyssey. It may perhaps create a smile when we say that the character of the Odyssey suggests a parallel between that poem, ethically considered, and Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." Odysseus persists through numerous hardships and temptations in the search of a certain ideal good. For this he dares to encounter incredible dangers, of which he is forewarned, and which he could avoid by abandoning his purpose; for this he resists the syrens, and tears himself from the embraces of Circe and Calypso; for this he forsakes the restful and enchanting gardens of Alcinous, and braves the final struggle with the claimants for his wife

The Greek character.

Ethical character of the Odyssey.

Analysis of the Odyssey.

and throne. Through all his arduous wanderings he shows constancy, fortitude, and an intellect superior to the ills which threaten to overwhelm him.*

One might suppose that this majestic narrative would have escaped the ruthless pens which have rent the Iliad asunder, and the attack was indeed long in coming. Aristarchus, with the weight of his great authority, came down on the critics who ventured to suggest in his time a separate authorship for the Odyssey and the Iliad. He proved to the satisfaction of antiquity that there were intimations in the Iliad which implied that Homer had the Odyssey in his mind when composing the former poem. For two thousand years no one ventured to dissent from this opinion. Wolf and his successors, while denying the joint authorship of the two poems, considered the Odyssey to be a single poem by one author, with the exception of the last book, part of which, at least, is generally allowed by the critics of all schools to be an addition by another hand.

Opinion of Aristarchus on the joint authorship.

But the turn of the Odyssey came at last. About the year 1850 the quibbling pedantry of the German critic began to discover flaws in this gem. Assumed interpolations and sutures and discrepancies were found in sufficient abundance to gratify the voracity of the keenest critic. Kirschoff is the most eminent champion of the atomistic attack on the Odyssey. The most moderate of this party consider that the Odyssey consists of at least four separate

The Atomists attack the Odyssey.

* The Stoics, as quoted by Heraclides, advanced a theory favoring the allegorical intent of the Odyssey, and giving to it an ethical significance. This, however, was due rather to the refinements of the philosophy of a later age than that of the poet, who lived at a time when it is hardly likely that poetry was other than wholly objective, and in its meaning unencumbered by any *arrière pensée.*

songs together with numerous interpolations. As in the discussion concerning the Iliad, there is also a body of German critics, including Berk and Nitzsch, who fight for the unity of the Odyssey. But they all demand such large license for the expression of individual taste in the rejection of various parts as to leave very little of the original poem if we are to accept all their emendations, and make it utterly impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion based upon their principles of criticism.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLISH CRITICISM OF HOMER.

BENTLY, the accredited originator of the atomistic theory was an Englishman, and yet the general drift of Homeric criticism in England has been upon altogether a different line from that pursued by German criticism. We think it must be conceded that this is not because English scholarship suffers by comparison with the erudition of continental classicists. It seems to be rather because of a different cast of mind that English critics have approached this question in a highly conservative spirit, and even when conceding the ability of German research regard every innovation with jealousy. Their attitude has been somewhat that of defenders of the position laid down by the ancients. They also entrench themselves with much force upon the principle that inconsistencies and imperfections in a literary work are not only not opposed to unity of authorship; but that they are to be expected in more or less degree in all such productions; and that hypercriticism of details or the æsthetic taste of individual critics should not be allowed to outweigh a general harmony of plan or effect, or the consensus of opinion of the age nearest to that of the author. A few have enthusiastically accepted the German theory, like Payne Knight and Paley; but they have not yet carried the English mind with them.

English criticism of the Homeric poems.

Among the strongest advocates of this conservative position are Mr. Gladstone and Col. Mure, who are both well equipped for the contest and fortify an opinion based upon natu-

Conservatism of the English critics.

ral conservatism with an abundant knowledge of the subject at issue both in its ancient and modern aspects. There is a fervor and generous enthusiasm about such works as "Juventus Mundi," and the "Age of Homer," by Mr. Gladstone which win our sympathy and sometimes almost turn dissent into conviction. To the lover of Homer such a spirit is far more agreeable than the dry iconoclastic dialectics of Germany. But while the critics of that country have perhaps not proved their theories, they have at least shown that there are undoubted difficulties in the way of yielding a full assent to the ancient belief in the authorship of Homer, the unity of authorship of the Iliad and the joint authorship of the Iliad and the Odyssey. The simplicity with which Mr. Gladstone ignores or overrides these difficulties is charming, but it does not strengthen his position. In trying to hold too much he hazards losing it all. This is a question in which a concession is necessary on both sides, because it is largely based upon speculation and personal temperament.

There is another point to be taken against Mr. Gladstone's contribution to the Homeric discussion. His analysis of the ethical character of the customs and heroes of Homer is perhaps carried too far. In another way he commits the same error as the German critics; he fails quite to put himself in the poet's time and place. We have a suspicion that the elevated sentiments and character he attributes to Homer are of post-Homeric origin; that they are suggested by the culture of a far later age, or spring from the natural goodness of heart of the critic himself.

Gladstone as a Homeric critic.

Critics both in art and literature are too liable to err in judgment by failing to apprehend the social or individual conditions which governed the creation of any

given production. Not only knowledge and fairness are requisites; the imagination is also as important a factor in criticism as in dramatic impersonation, for by it the critic transports himself to the scene and time of the writer or the artist he is discussing. To judge of poems, of paintings, of men or of women wholly by the standard of our own time and country, as is but too often the case, is to criticise unfairly as well as to impede our own intellectual growth. Sir George W. Cox has well observed, "It may be said that if we turn to these old legends or romances at all, it should be for the purpose of learning what they really were; and not with any wish of seeing them through a glass which shall reflect chiefly our own thoughts about them, a coloring borrowed from the sentiment of the nineteenth century."

Opinions of Col. Mure.

Col. Mure is probably the ablest advocate the conservative school has produced. But he is so opposed to innovation that he even objects to the recension of Aristarchus, when it differs from the older editions. He lays down his positions, however, with a display of scholarship and a massiveness of argument which commands the sincere respect of his opponents.

Theory of Mr. Grote.

With all its sturdy conservatism, however, the English mind is in reality conservatively progressive, and has a power of broad generalization and fairness in judgment, which sooner or later cause it to be felt influencing every department of knowledge. It is indeed the blending of these opposite qualities which renders the Anglo-Saxon intellect such a prominent factor in modern civilization. As might be expected, therefore, we find these traits displayed in the theory which Mr. Grote advanced regarding the Iliad in his history of Greece. He so far agrees

with Wolf as to concede that the Iliad bears evidence of consisting of more than one part; that is, he does not believe in the unity of the Iliad, in its present form. But on the other hand, he rejects the theory that it is an aggregation of ballads, but considers it to consist of the Achillêis, a single epic by Homer, and interpolations, either by Homer or some other poet, which he calls the Iliad.

The Achillêis.

Mr. Grote starts out by saying that "Nothing is gained by studying the Iliad as a congeries of fragments once independent of each other: no portion of the poem can be shown to have ever been so, and the supposition introduces difficulties greater than it removes. But it is not necessary to affirm that the whole poem as we now read it, belonged to the original and preconceived plan."

Mr. Grote's hypothesis.

Starting out on this broad principle, Mr. Grote states his hypothesis as follows: "The first book, together with the eighth, and the books from the eleventh to the twenty-second inclusive, seem to form the primary organization of the poem, then properly an Achillêis. But the books from the second to the seventh inclusive, together with the tenth, are of a wider and more comprehensive character, and convert the poem from an Achillêis to an Iliad. The primitive frontispiece, inscribed with the anger of Achilles and its direct consequences, yet remains after it has ceased to be co-extensive with the poem. The parts added, however, are not necessarily inferior in merit to the original poem; so far is this from being the case, that amongst them are comprehended some of the noblest efforts of the Grecian epic."

The historian bases his theory on the fact that in the books of the Achillêis the action and interest are concen-

trated on Achilles; while in the other or added books, the action takes a wider scope, and the narrative is devoted to the extolment of Diomedes, Agamemnon, Ajax and other chieftains who occupy a subordinate position in the Achillêis. He also finds additional reasons for this theory in the diverse character of the Greek and Trojan heroes as represented in the Achillêis, and the other divisions of the poem, notably Agamemnon and Hector, and the incongruities apparent in the character of Zeus. Other remarkable discrepancies and contradictions are shown to exist, which give emphasis to Mr. Grote's theory. He neither denies or affirms that the additions to the Achillêis might have been made by the author of that epic, but insists that they are in point of style and philology contemporary with the Achillêis.

Reasons for the Grotian hypothesis.

It is evident that while dependent upon internal evidence and individual perception, and therefore almost entirely speculative, Mr. Grote's theory commends itself as at once moderate and possible. While it cannot be accepted with certainty, it seems to offer a sensible solution of the widely separated views of the atomists and the conservatives, and is probably as near the truth of the question as we shall ever come. Instead of the tattered and unrecognizable wreck to which the atomists reduce the Iliad, this theory permits us at least to retain a consecutive and consistent epic of thirteen books. Some of the reasons for rejecting the other books will always remain inconclusive to many minds, and at best this view of the subject is of course hypothetical. But it must in candor be admitted that it is one thing by ceaseless gnawing of the critic tooth at every fibre of the immortal epic to sap away its life and leave

Reasons in favor of Mr. Grote's theory.

a fruitless, juiceless heap of fragments reduced to the powder of dry rot; and quite another to grant to it a glorious vitality and comely integrity, even at the expense of a branch lopped off here and there.

Two modifications or additions to Mr. Grote's theory of the structure of the Iliad have naturally succeeded it from the pens of English scholars. Prof. Geddes, accepting the theory of an Achillêis and an Iliad, yet denies the possibility that the latter was composed by several poets, or by Homer. He claims with much philological research that the Achillêis is an earlier work than the Iliad, which is the production of the real Homer, who also, as he asserts, composed the Odyssey. The arguments of Prof. Geddes, which it is impossible to approve or refute, find corroboration in the opinions advanced upon an independent line of thought by Sengenbusch.

Prof. Geddes' hypothesis.

Prof. Mahaffy's able History of Greek Literature contains the latest addition to the discussion. Accepting the Achillêis as a demonstrated fact, he ventures a novel theory regarding the other books of the Iliad. He assumes that the additional books, inasmuch as they are respectively devoted to the laudation of several chieftains little mentioned in the Achillêis, must have been respectively added, as occasion required, when the poem was recited in the palace or country of those chieftains. This is plausible and possible; but must we add that it rests, like most that has been written on this immense subject, entirely upon speculation? One often wearies at this endless supply of wholly subjective hypotheses, and sighs for a few rays of truth to burst forth and illumine a topic that has developed less proportionate result to the measure of argument and learning expended than any other subject

Prof. Mahaffy's hypothesis.

approached by man since the dawn of creation dispersed the nebulous glimmering of primeval chaos.

One of the most valuable contributions to the discussion that has been made since the time of Wolf, because it depends less on speculation than on fact, we consider to be the essay of Prof. Sayce, "On the language of the Greek Epic Poets." In this able statement we find concentrated the latest discoveries of comparative philology brought to bear with unerring force upon the Homeric question. The vast progress made in philological science in the last twenty years, and the certitude with which we are by this means able to trace the obscure growth and movement of races in pre-historic periods makes this a most important guide in the criticism of the Homeric epic.

Sayce on the linguistics of Greek epic poetry.

Prof. Sayce says: "Thanks to Comparative Philology and the discovery and study of numerous inscriptions during the last quarter of a century, the history of the Greek language and its dialects is now fairly well known. We can tell with certainty what sounds and grammatical forms are later than others, what are the dialects to which each must be referred, what words must be regarded, not as the creations of a living speech, but as the artificial products of a learned language." And again he adds, "A close examination of the language of Homer shows that it is a mosaic in which words belonging to different dialects—Æolic, Ionic, and Attic—are mixed together in such a way as to prove it to be an artificial dialect, never really spoken by the people, but slowly elaborated by successive generations of poets for the need of epic composition. In its present form it cannot be earlier than the seventh century before the Christian era—the

Importance of comparative philology in the discussion.

age, in fact, to which Euphorion and Theopompus assigned Homer."

Prof. Sayce goes on to cite words which abound in the Iliad and the Odyssey which are of so recent construction that they could not possibly have been in use earlier than the seventh century; and by an acute and thorough analysis of the subject, to which we must refer the reader, he seems to give us firm ground upon which to base a conclusion as to the age when the Homeric epics were composed. This conclusion comes very happily at a time when recent archæological research and discovery have also tended to simplify the question at issue by the addition of a few grains of wholesome fact which are worth more than bushels of erudite speculation. One of the arguments of Wolf and other critics, in favor of the atomistic or ballad theory has been the absence of evidence that the Greeks had the art of writing at so early a period. This would necessitate the preservation of the poems by oral recitation and memorizing, which they consider an impossible fact. This argument is very inconclusive when we remember the feats of memory so common both in barbarous and civilized communities, and the exceptional force which the faculties are capable of acquiring when exerted in any special direction. But this reason has had weight with many, and has been one of the most difficult to overcome. The advocates of this theory have regarded the unique use of the verb *γράφω* in the Iliad* in the sentence *γράψας ἐν πίνακι πτυκτῷ* [writing on a folding tablet] to be of no value; chiefly for the reason that it is the only mention of writing to be found in the

Contributions of archæology to the controversy.

Wolf's argument on the absence of writing.

*Il. VI, 169.

Iliad. But one positive statement like that seems to be worth pages of silence; especially as none of the critics assume that it is an interpolation. Even granting the importance of silence as an argument, an importance often too greatly insisted upon by critics and historians, yet one is at a loss to understand the full force of such a deliberate misstatement as that of Dr. Bönitz: "Nowhere do we find in the narrative of the poems or in the numerous similes the slightest hint of the existence of the art of writing, not even where there was natural occasion for invention of it." The phrase quoted above is not an unimportant refutation of this assertion.

Writing in the age of Homer.

CHAPTER V.

HISTORIC EVIDENCES OF THE TROJAN WAR.

THE first question which naturally arises after an enthusiastic perusal of the Iliad relates to the credibility of the matchless narrative of Homer. It is not essential that the characters of poetry or romance should be actual beings in order to win our attention, nor that the episodes should be based on fact. But in this case the grandeur of the events described, and the distinct and wonderful individuality of the persons of the story, leave upon the mind an impression of reality that has only been equalled by Shakespeare. The extraordinary vitality which gave the Homeric poems a Scriptural importance to the ancient mind, and enables them still to occupy a foremost place in the attention of the literary world at the present day, inclines even the most uncritical mind to confess that there must be something more than even its literary excellence to give such enduring value to the genius of Homer. Was there such a conflict as the Trojan war? Was there such a place as Troy? Did such a woman as Helen exist?

Grounds of credibility in the Trojan Legend.

Historical evidence for the Trojan war.

These questions, like all the others relating to the Iliad, have of course been exhaustively discussed, and although there are some who will not accept the statement, we think sufficient data have been reached to enable us to affirm that the events and topography of the Trojan legend have a basis of historic fact.

But before examining the grounds for this belief, it must be conceded that there is a contrary theory which

Allegorical theory for the stories concerning the Trojan legend.

has been urged with much force. The ancients in general believed the Iliad to be the record of a war, in which such a city as Troy was actually destroyed by the Greeks. But the philosophers, beginning with Xenophanes, revolted against the anthropomorphism of Homer, and endeavored to explain that his stories of the gods were typical and had a spiritual meaning. Metrodorus went still farther, and even resolved the heroes of the Iliad into allegorical characters who illustrate the various phenomena of nature. With the ancients these theories were purely speculative, for comparative philology and mythology were at that time unknown, but the progress made in these sciences by the scholars of the present day has brought unexpected aid to the hypothesis of Metrodorus and the Stoics. The researches made into the Sanscrit language and literature, and the correspondence found to exist in the legends and mythology of the Aryan or Indo-European races, together with the vast stores of folk-lore which have been brought to light from various sources have led some modern scholars to treat the Homeric legend as based upon what is called a solar myth, brought from India during the migration of races in ages far back in the oblivion of the unrecorded past. They fortified their theory by a rigid analysis of the legend. Müller considers the siege of Troy to be typical of the solar powers nightly robbed of their treasures of light in the West. Leda resembles Leto, and may personify darkness. She is the wife of Tyndarus, a name derived from words meaning light or flame. Helena, from the word ela, means brightness, or again it may be another form of Selene, the

Theory of Metrodorus.

Comparative philology.

Solar myths upheld to explain the Iliad.

moon, while her two brothers, Castor and Pollux, who alternately died and lived, meaning respectively the Adorner and the Dewful, seem to suggest day and night. It is true that most proper names, when traced to their origin, are found to have some distinct meaning apart from their appellative use. It is also true that the argument which has been brought against the occurrence of such an event as the rape of Helen or the existence of any such woman because a similar circumstance is mentioned once before in her life and is common in Greek mythology, is of little value, because in those barbaric ages the abduction of women by violence was doubtless as common as it is in the east even in our day.

It must be admitted, however, that the advocates of this theory, of whom Mr. F. A. Paley is one of the sturdiest champions, base a strong argument on the analogy drawn from comparative mythology, and if they had their own way would reduce the whole of this vast Homeric question to the "baseless fabric of a vision." Let us but accept the theory that the Trojan war is wholly a solar myth, that Agamemnon, Helen, Paris, Odysseus, and all the other characters of the Iliad are simply allegorical types of physical phenomena; that when we shed our tears at the parting of Hector and Andromache, we are wasting emotion over a physical abstraction, and that when the blind bard was describing the beauty of Helen, he was thinking of the moon; let us, I say, once accept this theory with all its plausible possibilities or absurdities, and we need no longer discuss the historic basis of the Iliad or delve in the hills to discover traces of "Holy Ilium."

But supposing that we had no facts with which to confute the solar theory, we think that its acceptance would be rendered more satisfactory if we look at the question

with the allowances so well put by Max Müller. "We see," he says, "that mythology does not always create its own heroes, but that it lays hold of real history, and coils itself round it so closely that it is difficult, nay, almost impossible, to separate the ivy from the oak, or the lichen from the granite to which it clings. And here is a lesson which comparative mythologists ought not to neglect. They are naturally bent on explaining everything that can be explained; but they should bear in mind that there may be elements in every mythological riddle which resist etymological analysis, for the simple reason that their origin was not etymological, but historical. It does not always follow that heroes of old who performed what may be called solar feats are therefore nothing but myths. We ought to be prepared even in the legends of Herakles, or Meleagros, or Theseus, to find some grains of local history on which the sharpest tools of comparative mythology must bend or break."

Max Müller on comparative mythology.

But it is no longer a matter of doubt that there were extensive migrations of the Greeks across the Egean in pre-historic times. The return of the Heraclidæ, an obscure but well verified movement of the Dorians from the north of Greece into the south, seem to have forced the Æolians to seek an asylum elsewhere. At least the emigration of the Æolians about that time may be considered a result of Dorian aggression.

Early migration of the Greeks to Asia.

Return of the Heraclidæ and Æolic colonies.

So far as can be ascertained, the Æolian settlements in Asia Minor took place in the twelfth century before Christ, which is the period generally assigned to the Trojan war, supposing it to be an actual event. There is no reason to believe that the Æolic emigration was

accomplished without serious opposition from the Asiatic holders of the soil. Unless it was altogether different from all the migrations of races in ancient times, it was undoubtedly conducted under the guise of conquest, and by a series of expeditions or descents on the coast. The legendary history of Troy itself, whether it be true or false, is so framed as to carry out this very idea of successive expeditions attended with predatory warfare and perhaps retaliatory attempts on the part of the inhabitants. Hercules with a fleet attacks and sacks Troy. But we are left to infer by the legend that it was done by a *coup de main*, chiefly for plunder, and with no permanent occupation in view. When the Greeks organize a great expedition against Troy, it is represented as making a landing first on the eastern coast of Mysia. Their next descent is on the Troad, after a number of events which indicate that their plans have been matured and improved by experience. The invaders are said to be there ten years. During that time they ravaged and lived on the territory and captured a number of cities. In this protracted interval they must have received reinforcements from home; this seems to be suggested by the coming of Philoctetes and Neoptolemus towards the close of the siege, without whom it could not have been brought to a favorable conclusion, according to the legend. It is reasonable to suppose that those chieftains brought with them bodies of troops whose aid contributed to the final success of the enterprise.

The theory of Æolic attack sustained by the legend.

The retaliatory acts of the Trojans, suggested above, may possibly be pre-figured by the expedition of Paris. He built a fleet, says the Iliad, visited the coast of Greece and stole the wife of a Grecian prince.

Possible explanation of the events of the siege in accordance with history.

reference to this act Homer himself uses the word ἁρπάζω, to snatch, to carry away by force, as if it were done by a piratical expedition.

Theory of the capture of Helen.

Eventually, by dint of holding the soil and cultivating it for ten years (this period is evidently arbitrary, decimal enumeration being peculiar to the Iliad) the Greeks were able to wear out the resources of the original inhabitants, and by the capture of Troy gained complete authority over the territory, which since then has gone by the name of Æolis. The Odyssey records, as we have already indicated on page 83, that after the siege a division arose among the Greeks, some desiring to return at once to Greece, and others preferring to linger ostensibly to offer expiatory hecatombs. The first sailed for home, but there is no record that all of the others returned. Possibly some of them remained and formed the nucleus of the colonization which eventually Æolised the whole territory. We know from Herodotus and Pausanias that as early at least as 500 B. C., the whole of that coast from the Hellespont to the Hermes had been settled by the Æolians, and that the site of Troy was inhabited by them and evidently had been for ages, because to speak of one's self as a Greek of Troy had become as natural as to hail from any other Greek city.

Explanation of Hellenic settlement of Æolis.

Evidence of Herodotus to Æolic settlement.

Proof that Homer was an Asiatic Greek.

There seems to be very strong proof that Homer was an Asiatic Greek in the difference he has drawn in the Iliad between the Greek and the Trojan chiefs. One of the reasons alleged by the critics to show that the Iliad in its present form is composed of at least two poems is the diverse manner in which Hector is made to appear in the so-

called Achilléis and the additions to it. To one who has studied oriental history or been thrown in contact with Asiatics this discrepancy is less apparent. Such inconsistencies of character are far more common in the Asiatic than in the European races. Their principles of self-respect are founded on a different basis, while the Asiatic, though physically as brave as the European, is more addicted to boasting, and is liable to panics in the most critical moments, which does not prevent him from exhibiting surprising acts of bravery when brought to bay. The reckless rashness of Hector, when advised by Polydamus to retire from the Greek entrenchments; the courage with which he encounters Ajax in single combat; the tears that he sheds when he bids farewell to his family; the terror which strikes him when he sees Achilles approaching, and the fortitude with which he stands to meet his doom, are not only traits appropriate to the great Hector but are characteristic of the flexible and inconsistent nature of the oriental warrior.

Character of the Trojan chiefs.

Traits of oriental character in the Trojans.

Character of Hector.

The character of Paris has been the subject of much invidious criticism. We do not think he has ever received justice from those who have analyzed his character. Mr. Gladstone, for example, when he quotes the sarcastic epithets Diomedes applied to Paris, "Bowman! ribald! well-frizzled girl-hunter," forgets that these are the words of an enemy who would naturally not love one who had been the immediate cause of tearing him from his home to fight in foreign lands. He overlooks the fact also, that Helen herself acknowledged to Paris, that he bore the reputation of being stronger than her husband Menelaus, and also that, if he had been

Character of Paris analyzed.

snatched away as Homer implies, there is nothing singular in the language by which she addresses him. The legend itself also everywhere indicates that, if effeminate, Paris was not lacking in force of character and physical power. In his youth he carries off the prize from Hector himself in athletic games; he sacks Sidon in his expedition, and even Homer himself assigns him great skill with the bow and makes him the destroyer of the redoubtable Achilles. In the matter of Helen again, there is fidelity exhibited in his love for her, and both resolution and stern courage, whatever we may think of its expediency, in the persistency with which he resists and controls every authority in Troy, and forbids the restoration of Helen and her treasure; while the legend undoubtedly gives him a quasi sanction to possess the Spartan queen by the direct authority and assistance of the Goddess of Love herself. There is unquestionable dignity and grandeur in the manner in which Paris repels the reproaches of Hector in the following passage.

"But to the leftward of the bloody fray,
The god-like Paris, fair-haired Helen's lord,
Cheering his comrades to the fight, he found,
And with reproachful words addressed him thus:
'Thou wretched Paris, fair in outward form,
Thou slave of woman, manhood's counterfeit,
Where is Deiphobus, and where the might
Of royal Helenus? Where Adamas,
The son of Asius? Where too Asius, son
Of Hyrtocus? and where Othryonous?
Now from its summit totters to the fall
Our lofty Ilium; now thy doom is sealed.'*

* No argument can be drawn from the reproaches of Hector in this passage, for he u justly applied similar abuse to Polydamus.

To whom the god-like Paris thus replied:
'Hector, since blameless I incur thy blame,
Ne'er have I less withdrawn me from the fight,
And me not wholly vile my mother bore;
For since thou gav'st command to attack the ships,
We here against the Greeks unflinching war
Have wag'd; our comrades, whom thou seek'st are slain!
Only Deiphobus hath left the field,
And Helenus; but Jove their life hath spared.
But thou, where'er thy courage bids, lead on:
We shall be prompt to follow; to our pow'r
Thou shalt in us no lack of valor find;
Beyond his power the bravest cannot fight.'
Wrought on his brother's mind the hero's words:
Together both they bent their steps, where raged
The fiercest conflict." *

The truth is that Paris is the exact representative of one of the types of an oriental prince. He is one of the most genuine characters in the legend, and is to our mind a strong evidence that Homer intended to give us not only strongly marked individuals, but also to discriminate between the characteristics of different races. The portrait of Priam is also drawn with apparently the same intention. Concubinage, or at least cohabitation with female captives, seems to have been a practice allowable among the Greeks but nowhere is there mention of polygamy among them; while Priam is spoken of as the husband of several wives and fifty-seven children; altogether the patriarchal household of an oriental despot, while the prominence given to Hecuba is analogous to the honor accorded to the Sultana Validè or mother of the heir apparent in Eastern dynasties. The Trojans may have sprung from

Character of Priam.

* Il. XIII., Trans. by Earl of Derby

Thracian origin, but they had been so long on Asiatic soil, and intermarried there, that they had modified their customs.

Treachery of Æneas and Antenor.

By several authorities, also, it is stated that Troy was betrayed by Æneas and Antenor.* Treachery in warfare is not unknown among European races, but it has always been a distinct feature of Eastern military operations from the earliest times to the present day.

This explanation of some of the features of the Homeric legend is of course to a certain degree hypothetical, but by no means impossible. And we quite agree with Völcher and Thirlwall, and with the more guarded opinion of Grote, that we may look for a reasonable, nay almost certain solution of the causes of the Trojan war in the migratory expeditions of the Æolians across the Ægean, which resulted as we now know in the occupation of Mysia by a branch of the Hellenic race. Naturally, among such movements, some events would occur of a stirring and decisive character. One of these, the capture of a Mysian fortress or city, was attended, we may suppose, with striking deeds of valor, and perhaps resulted in the final success of the invaders. It made a lasting impression on the popular mind; the rhapsodists seized its picturesque points and recited them in stirring ballads, until a mightier than the others arose, who gave immortality to a typical event, and not only preserved for us the name of Troy and a record of the movements of races, but gave a direction to the ethics, arts, and literature of antiquity, whose influence is destined to endure to the end of time.

If now we could find antiquities that would corroborate

* Odyss., Soph., Arctinus.

this view of the question, we might consider it settled beyond dispute that there was such a city as Troy, and that it was the scene of certain military events in which the Greeks took an active part, in the twelfth century before Christ, although the details might always remain a matter of conjecture, while a solar myth might also have become engrafted upon it which, however, would not conflict with the actuality of fact.

Importance of archæological discovery to this question.

The acquaintance of Homer with the topography of the Iliad seems to be thorough and to be gathered from personal observation of some specific spot, as, for example, in such familiar allusions as,

> "The wild fig-tree growing near the tomb
> Of ancient Ilus, son of Dardanus."*

Importance to the credibility of the legend that the site of Troy should be found.

But such local knowledge and apparent precision of statement is entirely compatible with a wholly imaginary work, together with poetic license in the details, and is not in itself conclusive unless we can find a locality corresponding to a reasonable degree with the topography of the Iliad.

That this has been a question of capital importance in this controversy has long been acknowledged by Homeric scholars, who have given it much attention, but have retarded approximation to the truth by starting from wrong premises.

* Il. XI.

CHAPTER VI.

SITE OF TROY.

It is prophesied in the Iliad that the house of Æneas would reign in Troy after the fall of Priam. Æneas represented a collateral branch of the Teucrian dynasty, which occupied Dardania. It is to this cause that the indifference of Æneas to the war is assigned. There is a very early tradition that a band of fugitives returned and reoccupied the Pergamus of Troy.

Historic Ilium.

Far more certain than this obscure legend are the Thracian inroads and settlements in the Troad and the definite statement by Herodotus and Strabo that an Æolian colony founded a new city on the site of the Priameian Ilium during or previous to the eighth century before Christ, or about the time assigned to the existence of Homer. Although it never became a place of either size or importance, it was for centuries unquestionably considered as standing on the site of the Trojan Pergamus and went by the name of Holy Ilium. The inhabitants stoutly maintained the tradition of its reoccupation after the sack by Agamemnon. So strong was the general conviction that Ilium had been the scene of some great historic event that it appears to have been visited by men of intelligence solely on that account, if we may judge from the fact that the inhabitants thought it worth while to preserve what were doubtless spurious relics which they affirmed had been handed down from the siege, such as

Reoccupation of Ilium.

Relics preserved in ancient Ilium.

the lyre of Paris, the arms of heroes of the war, the altar where Priam was slain, and the like. *

So widely spread was the story of the Trojan war, and so deep was the conviction that Ilium was verily on the site of Troy that the tale penetrated the distant halls of far eastern kings, and even Xerxes, when invading Greece, turned aside to ascend the Pergamus and reflect over the ruined palace of Priam,† where he sacrificed one thousand oxen.

Xerxes visits Ilium.

When Alexander the Great landed in Asia with his army, he also visited Troy, for he was an enthusiastic student of Homer, and slept with a copy of the Iliad under his pillow. On the side of his mother also, he was descended from Achilles. Ascending the Pergamus, Alexander sacrificed to Pallas, and also to the shade of Priam, whose vengeance he was desirous of averting in his expedition. He also offered an oblation on the summit of the mound of Achilles. Alexander was not only a great general; but as the pupil of Aristotle, he was also a scholar and a thinker. A careful survey of the plains of Troy and the citadel hill raised no topographical doubts in his acutely observant mind. So unhesitating was his belief that he promised greatly to endow and strengthen Ilium; but his early death prevented the accomplishment of this purpose.

Alexander the Great at Ilium.

In the year 190 B. C., the Romans, pursuing their triumphal march over the east, arrived in Mysia. They remembered their legendary descent from Trojan stock with pride. Livius the consul, sacrificed on the Pergamus, and in the name of Rome lavished numerous honors on the little city, releasing it from tribute and giving it jurisdiction over the Troad.

* [Trojan relics were also preserved and exhibited at Revenna, which were implicitly accepted as genuine by the ancients.]

† Plut., Herod.

Roman acknowledgement of Ilium's claim.

As Mr. Grote suggests, this unexpected elevation of so small a place may have rendered it arrogant to a degree unpleasant to the neighboring and more important towns. At any rate it is certain that the authority of Ilium was resisted by Sigeium, which was therefore attacked by the Ilians and destroyed. Jealousies were also aroused at Alexandria, Troas and Scepsis.

Results of Roman honors.

This honor and power awarded to Ilium is of some consequence in this connection, as it lies at the basis of the difficulties which modern critics have found or have made for themselves in settling upon the site of Troy.

Up to the Roman occupation not a word had ever been uttered indicating the slightest doubt of the right of Ilium to be considered the actual occupant of the site of the Pergamus of Holy Ilium. Nay more, Hellanicus and other writers of weight had emphatically asserted its claims. It was only after honors had been paid to Ilium by the Romans that doubts arose, and then they were only suggested by natives of adjoining towns. Demetrius, a Homeric critic, and a native of the neighboring town of Scepsis, originated a theory entirely out of his inner consciousness abolishing the claims of Ilium, which he had the assurance to call New Ilium, and fixing the site of Troy at the village of the Ilieans, four miles south of Ilium. The entire absence of relics or ruins at that spot, he explained by a gratuitous and sophistical hypothesis. Soon after Hestiæa, a lady of Alexandria Troas, the only female archæologist and critic recorded in antiquity, wrote a book re-affirming the truth of this theory. She as well as Demetrius show a personal knowledge of the topography of the region, and therefore give as one

Theories of Demetrius of Scepsis and Hestiæa about the site of Troy.

reason for rejecting Ilium, that the space between Troy and the Naustathmos was too small for the manœuvering of the armies of the Iliad. This assumes that Homer's details were intended to be strictly statistical rather than poetical. Ancient armies moved in a small space. They came to close quarters. 130,000 men fought at Cannæ between the contracted bend of a small river.* The only writer of the period however who accepted this hypothesis was Strabo, who lived about the opening of the Christian era. But Strabo never visited Troy, and the theory of Demetrius was completely ignored by every subsequent authority.

Julius Cæsar, a writer as well as a general, distinctly honored New Ilium, while Arrian, Plutarch, Pausanias, and numerous later authors of fame never questioned the truth of the common tradition of antiquity concerning the claims of Ilium.

If modern writers had only been content to ignore Demetrius as severely as did his contemporaries, what floods of ink would have been saved, what acrimonious debates we should have been spared! But in an evil hour the modern critics of Homer decided to follow the lead of Demetrius and Strabo. Thls has made it exceedingly difficult to settle the matter, because, having taken sides, it is difficult for men of decided character to acknowledge themselves in the wrong. Grote, one of the soundest intellects in the weighing of evidence that modern literature has produced, decided against the theory of Demetrius of Scepsis, the authority of Strabo, and the dogmatism of his own contemporaries.

Course of modern opinion on the site of Troy.

But the surest and the only way to settle a matter

* Polybius.

fast drifting into the hopeless quagmire of speculation is to discover some tangible evidence on the ground itself to designate the location of Holy Ilium. The spade, guided by intelligence, and impelled by resolute will, is the weapon that must eventually decide the doubts in the great story of Homer.

Two alleged sites of Troy.

In recent times there have been two prominent claimants to the honor of representing the site of Troy. In deciding as to the merits of each, certain points need to be carefully stated and understood, which have great weight in the final solution of the problem. These are

Points in the topographical argument.

the position of the naustathmos or site of the Greek camps and navy; the Rhœtian and Sigæan Points; the rivers Xanthus and Scamander; the tomb of Æsyetes; the tomb of Batiæa; the hot and cold springs near the source of the Scamander; a height suitable for a citadel; and the wooden horse. The latter, it may be alleged, is a pure fable and as such should be ignored in a discussion of facts. But it is alluded to in the Iliad as one of the capital features of the story already long current, and the Cyclic poets and the Odyssey give it the greatest prominence. Whether it was actually a horse or an engine of war, it is clearly one of the factors in the argument, because we must take into account the facility of rolling it either three or nine miles, — the distances of the two most freqently mentioned sites from the coast.

Importance of the wooden horse in the discussion.

Now while it is too much, perhaps, to expect a poetic narrative to be strictly accurate in local details, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the spot which combines the larger number of these features is the best entitled to the claim. But if to this advantage such place is found

to contain more characteristic and abundant antiquities in its bosom than its rivals, then its right to the name of Ilium amounts to a demonstration.

Hissarlik and Bournabashi are the two sites prominently urged in the discussion. The former is the *New* Ilium of Demetrius and Strabo; the latter was invented, —we use the word advisedly,—by Le Chevalier, a French traveller of the last century, who came to the Troad with two ideas in his mind;—that Strabo was right when he ignored the claims of *New* Ilium, and that the decision of the question depended upon the location of the springs near which Hector was killed. Altogether passing by Hissarlik, without even so much as visiting it, M. Le Chevalier pursued his search for the springs. He found them, as he supposed, at Bournabashi. Ignoring the fact that the place is nine miles from the Hellespont, and that the distance could not very well be fought over four times in one day, as Homer states; and ignoring also the circumstance that there were forty springs at Bournabashi as indicated by the Turkish name Kirkgiös instead of two, together with the absence of the other requisites to the claim, he fixed upon this spot as the site of Troy, without attempting to verify his opinion by excavations. Curtius, Leake, Texier, and other distinguished historians and travellers have fallen into the net prepared for them by M. Le Chevalier. But it is of importance to note that Mr. Grote stoutly maintained the rights of Hissarlik, in the face of much opposing criticism.

Bournabashi and Le Chevalier.

Claims of Bournabashi.

We need not go into a discussion of the rival theories of Clarke and Webb, who placed the Homeric Ilium on the hills of Chiplâk, near Hissarlik; or of Ulrichs, who assumes that it was on the heights of Atzik-Kuöi, south-

Other alleged sites of Ilium.

east of Hissarlik. But it is needful to consider at this point that all of these theories were based wholly on superficial observation. Not one of them had been tested by a single excavation, and one is therefore worth as much as another, according to the option of the Homeric scholar.

But a crisis in the discussion arrived in 1870 when Dr. Schliemann entered the Troad prepared to attack the soil at all the disputed points and wrest from the womb of the earth the secret of ages. Although giving his preference from the outset to Hissarlik, Dr. Schliemann, with a laudable spirit of fairness, directed his attention first of all to the other sites.

Test of genuineness applied by Dr. Schliemann.

The Ilium of Demetrius was found to be absolutely free from antiquities, the native rock everywhere underlying the soil at a depth of a foot and a half. Some ruins were developed at Bournabashi; but not only were they insignificant in character, but inscriptions were discovered identifying them with the ancient town of Gergis. Similar results followed elsewhere. And then Dr. Schliemann directed his explorations to Hissarlik. As the present name indicates the Turks gave to this hill a title which they derived from the long traditions that surrounded it. Hissarlik means a pergamus or citadel in the Turkish language. This proves that even in that vicinity, the theory of Demetrius and Hestiæa had never taken root.

Qualifications of Hissarlik.

It is important to observe in this connection the topographical correspondence of Hissarlik to the points which were noted on a previous page. It naturally offers a site which suggests that in ancient times it would have been seized upon for a fortress and a city. A plateau rises above the plain at an average height

of fifty feet; at the north-western corner of this elevation springs another hill twenty-six feet higher, which is nine hundred and eighty-four feet in length, and seven hundred and five feet long.* It is the latter to which the name of Hissarlik especially attaches, indicating that it is an acropolis or citadel.

Dimensions of Hissarlik.

This plateau lies on the right of both the ancient and modern beds of the Mendere or Scamander, and to the left of the devious channels of the Dombrek or Xanthus River. It is about three miles and a half from the naustathmos, and commands an unobstructed view of the plain between the rivers and the sea, which is distinctly seen together with the neighboring isles. In the immediate vicinity on the south, is the mound of Batiæa; while the short distance of Hissarlik from the Greek camp makes it quite possible for a scout to observe the movements of the enemy from the neighboring mound of Æsyetes. This distance is also entirely compatible with the legend that the Trojans drew the horse into Troy from the sea. The nature of the ground is suitable to a battle-field and the movement of chariots; the body of Hector could easily have been drawn by Achilles around and in full sight of the battlements of Hissarlik. It is not essential to the possibility of that occurrence that it should be supposed Achilles made a complete circuit of the city, as when he dragged Hector around the mound of Patroclus. Such then was the condition of the question of the site of Troy, when Dr. Schliemann marshalled his force of workmen to excavate the hidden possibilities of Hissarlik. It is not within the scope of this volume, nor would it be quite

Location of Hissarlik considered.

Discoveries of Dr. Schliemann.

fair to Dr. Schliemann to give a detailed account of the results of his labors, for he has told the story himself in a most graphic and interesting manner.

But we can say that whereas exploration of all the other alleged sites of Troy has been nearly fruitless in archæological result, abundant discoveries have rewarded the explorations at Hissarlik. Proceeding by transverse cuttings extending to the depth of upwards of fifty feet, Dr. Schliemann has revealed the stratified remains of seven distinct cities; of these he considers the third from the bottom to be the "Holy Ilium" of the Iliad. This would correspond with the order of succession of the legend. Among other highly important antiquities discovered in this stratum are a massive square tower of masonry, a building which might have been the palace of the king, a broad well-paved street, and a double gateway leading to the plain which Dr. Schliemann assumes to be the Skaian Gate. Besides these are enormous wine jars, spear-heads of copper,* elaborately decorated vases, mystical whorls and figures of Pallas, and, most important of all, numerous and costly necklaces, and diadems and goblets of massive gold to the number of thousands.

Discoveries at Hissarlik.

These relics are quite independent of structures and sculptures, of more recent ages discovered in the upper strata, and are undoubtedly of a character belonging to pre-historic times. While agreeing with Dr. Schliemann that these discoveries amount almost to a solution of the historic reality of the Iliad, it is with great diffidence that we say, we are not quite prepared to confine the limits of Ilium to the hill of Hissarlik. Having sought for signs of a former occupancy in the plateau without

* Iron is mentioned but once in the Iliad.

result, the explorer has reluctantly come to the conclusion that the whole of Ilium was on this small hill of Hissarlik. It is true that in former times towns were often huddled together within very contracted limits, because of the necessity of protecting them with a wall, and we know that even in the Middle Ages, enormous numbers would be crowded into a small space during a siege. The fortress of Carcasonne, for example, contained nearly fifty thousand souls when it was stormed by the crusaders. Existing entire to our times, it affords a fair example of such occurences. A town of several hundred houses was actually built within the amphitheatre of Arles.

But still we hesitate to accept the theory that Troy was no larger than Hissarlik. It is quite possible that on the plateau a perishable city lay outside of the Pergamus, built of wicker work, thatch and mud, and surrounded by a low wall of sundried bricks. Such was the case with Sardis when captured by Cyrus.

Objections to Schliemann's limits to ancient Troy.

But without urging this point until further evidence can be adduced, we can give a most hearty welcome to the discoveries of Dr. Schliemann. They have quite turned the weapons of the critics, who, it must be observed with regret, have failed to extend that candor and warmth to the efforts of Dr. Schliemann, which they undoubtedly deserve. But he is armed with tangible arguments in this case,* and has forced the burden of the proof upon his opponents. If this spot, indicated by the traditions of three thousand years and containing such a weight of antiquarian and circumstantial evidence, is not the Pergamus, or city of Troy, what is this place, and where then is the site of

* The alleged discovery of the remains of Agamemnon and Cassandra at Mycenæ are of more doubtful origin.

Troy? Those who claim that there never was a Holy Ilium are forced to find reasons to explain why this spot has always gone by that title.

In reviewing the results of the Homeric controversy to the present time, we are led irresistibly to the following conclusions. The critical speculations of Homeric scholars have been of great value indirectly in furthering the advance of comparative philology and a knowledge of classic literature. But they have also caused much absurd criticism which has demonstrated the inconclusiveness of any analysis of poetry guided only by individual taste and based wholly on speculation.

Concluding reflections.

The atomists have failed to prove that the Iliad is a congeries of ballads, and that Homer is a myth; while strong internal evidence has been discovered in favor of the belief that there was at least one long consecutive epic of thirteen books regarding the Trojan war which forms part of our Iliad, and is for convenience called the Achillêis; that epic presumes a poet equal to its creation. Antiquity alleged that Homer was that author; and all the efforts of modern criticism have failed to prove the contrary.

The separatists have been able to adduce strong reasons to show a different authorship for the Iliad and the Odyssey, but the atomists have not proved that either was ever other than a single poem, with possible interpolations.

Recent discoveries in comparative philology have demonstrated that the Iliad was composed within a period possessing the art of writing, thus demolishing one of the strongest arguments of the atomists, although strengthening the theory that solar myths were grafted on genuine historic events.

The investigations of Dr. Schliemann have destroyed the theories of those who sought a site for Troy elsewhere than at Hissarlik, and have seriously threatened the speculations of the critics who consider the Trojan legend to have no basis in fact; while they have enormously strengthened the faith of those who believe that somewhere, sometime in the remote past there was a contest or war of races which gave rise to a ballad literature that resulted in the great epic of Homer.

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